The
COMMONWEAL
A Weekly Review of Literature the Arts and Public Affairs
FOUNDED BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

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Week by Week

THE REAPPEARANCE of the White House spokesman, now speaking in the accents of Roosevelt and not Coolidge, brought forth a spirited reaction from almost all groups in the country. The spokesman compared the international bitterness in Europe to the economic bitterness here in America, and pointed out that cooperation would cure it. An end was asked to "calling names" and "rattling swords." The National Association of Manufacturers replied; John D. M. Hamilton replied; the Business Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce replied; and so did many senators and almost every newspaper. First it was shown that cooperation must, by definition, be two-sided at least. The name-calling and sword-rattling market has not been cornered, even by Republicans. Then every group seemed to interpret cooperation as meaning a let-up in opposition to proposals sponsored by itself, and declared indeed that that was just what it was waiting for. But at this stage of the game, cooperation means something more humble and more heroic. All these groups (and everybody is in some of them) have to give up something we believe in, which we think is right annd just and beneficial to mankind and the loss of which we are certain will harm ourselves, our children, the nation and all civilization. And we must give up something when we are not forced to do so. It certainly appears that cooperation is something outside the present time-sense, with its abandonment to power and its stubborn ideologies covering the fields of human accidentals. The White House spokesman was apparently asking, in an off-hand way, for a change in the whole spirit of the times.

Yes—But

YET WHEN on October 8 the good ship Brazil, freshly painted and reconditioned, put out to sea for Rio de Janeiro, Santos, Montevideo and Buenos Aires, to inaugurate a new biweekly service between New York and the east coast of South America, it was supposed to bear with it the hopes of a new era in Pan American relationships. The modern liner is an impressive symbol of the land of its origin, and while the Brazil and her two sisters are quite inferior to some of the German ships in South America—and possibly some of the French and Latin—for the time they will do. The trim little Grace Liners that bring the United States to the southern continent's west coast are of the best. Pan American airways, which has just speeded up service to Buenos Aires, is a more than worthy companion for the French and German airlines. Broadcasting stations are now busy sending out short-wave broadcasts to Latin America, the Columbia Broadcasting System alone being responsible for 95 special programs a week, mostly in Spanish and Portuguese. What specifically is the aim of all this activity? Is it merely for more business, for more raw materials and particularly for more markets? Times were never more propitious for genuine Pan Americanism than now. Popular feeling is heavily against the Germans and Italians because of the ruthless dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, and is correspondingly enthusiastic over the peaceful settlement of the Chaco dispute, a compromise for which the United States receives much of the credit. Increased business relations with Latin America are mutually desirable; they should be sought vigorously, frankly, openly. But in all sincerity the United States should seek to build up in collaboration with our southern neighbors a comity of nations that will serve as a model of international justice, harmony and good-will.

Customers or Neighbors

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THE FACT that charity is the very center of all problems of action, that it must be the integrating factor in dealing with the problems facing society everywhere, was the first lesson of the Richmond National Conference of Catholic Charities. The problem of Catholic Charities is not one problem, by no means simply getting money from the rich and giving it to the poor. What people know as the social problem, and the class problem; all kinds of political, administrative and business problems, and problems of dogmatic theology came up for discussion during the really remarkable conference at Richmond. America's Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Cicognani, warned that "it would be a perversion of charity to attempt to substitute almsgiving for the payment of just wages." The problem of just wages and through it the whole problem of social justice were taken up, as they must be when men are dealing with charity. Governor Murphy defended government activity to help toward security by enunciating a principle that as long as industry does not provide security, government must do so. Father Boland of the New York Labor Relations Board called for regular meetings of representatives of employers' associations with those of the unions, making practically applicable the lessons on vocational groups contained in the encyclicals. Experts discussed states' rights and the question of proper areas of administration. Gene Tunney helped clarify the youth problem, deploring the setting up of enemies of society as society's heroes. A representative from Detroit showed that eugenic marriage laws need not interfere with the authority of the Church, but, properly conceived and executed, could assist in the Church's work. The currently popular problem of public relations was examined at length with all sorts of apparently secular evidence brought into the study of this tool of charity. All these considerations were appropriate in the appreciation of the fundamental, personal and neighborhood work of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. They are all problems of charity.

The Place of Charity

THE MOST pressing need for charity in its widest and deepest sense is afforded in our day by refugees. And it is a need which calls forth little permanent response. If it were only necessary to perform one act for the relief of each refugee, there would be no problem. Unfortunately continuing acts are called for, and continuing charity is very nearly impossible in the face of that inertia which is a constant factor in every human equation. Anti-communist refugees from Russia (there are still over a million of them), Basque refugees from Nationalist Spain (there are said to be over a hundred thousand of them), Jewish and Christian refugees from Germany and Austria, and now from the Sudeten lands—all these and many smaller groups offer a challenge to our humanity, an obligation from which we cannot excuse ourselves, however distasteful it may be. The primary need of these people and especially of their children may be sheer almsgiving — food and clothing and shelter. But they have, increasingly, a deeper need, the need for a status in life, not only in the immediate, legal sense of a passport at the least, a new citizenship at the most, but in the human sense of a feeling of welcome from their hosts, of an opportunity to become one with the community which they have been forced to make their own through no choice of their own. And this is the hardest task. For every refugee is not a charming person whom we are delighted to have as our guest; that could not be expected. But every refugee is a person and a soul, and that imposes greater obligations than does charm.

No Room in the Inn

THE BALFOUR declaration of the days immediately following the war gave promise of supplying a home land for dispossessed Jews; of course at the time the number of such Jews was small and most of the pressure which created the declaration came from Zionism. But when later on anti-Semitism produced a refugee problem of considerable dimensions, Palestine could serve as a haven of refuge. And it has served as such. In describing a properous farm cooperative in Palestine, Frank Smothers of the Chicago *Daily News* writes: "The majority of the Kiriat Anavim people come from Russia, Poland and Germany; one saw blonds and brunettes among them, greatly varying types. . . . I remember particularly the pinched, hirsute, patient visage of one slender man, who nevertheless was at home here, emotionally at rest, with work to do and an accepted place in his society." Yet the population of Palestine has been preponderantly Arab for many centuries, and the Arabs were naturally disturbed at this influx of to them odious people. Terrorism has been the result, terrorism at least pleasing to if not supported by Hitler and Mussolini. Of course there are many reasons for the disturbances in Palestine, but at least it is true that if there had been no one previously living in the country, there would have been no disturbances. The obligation of the British to keep order under their mandate has imposed on them a heavy burden, a military establishment of 17,000 men, who are only now beginning a concerted drive to suppress the bloody riots which have disturbed the Palestinian peace. Mr. Smothers in his report on the farm cooperative also notes "atop one of the higher concrete buildings we were passing . . . a watch tower command-

Unhappy Holy Land

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The Lion Lies with the Lamb

ing a good sweep of the hills, with a searchlight for night watches. No guard was in sight there at the moment, but my companion pointed to farther hills with other lookout towers—all belonging to this settlement." Guards and towers and watchmen—rural implements, farm machinery, which one would have thought no longer necessary for tilling the soil. Jewish leaders suspect that England is going to abrogate the Balfour declaration as being outmoded. And the pattern of a refugee nation disappears as a hopeful pattern for a solution of the problem.

Women and Labor

THE FIGURES presented by John D. Biggers, administrator of the unemployment census, regarding the present employment of women here, are bound to be startling. However, the report's own exemplary caution in generalizing on its totals should be followed until they are analyzed into known factors. The estimated increase of 2,470,000 women workers between 1930 and 1937 above what the growth of population in that time indicates will undoubtedly be felt to constitute, as the report says, a large item of the unemployment problem. It brings the number of women workers to 14,496,000 as against 39,978,000 men. But the warning is also plain that this should not be read as a mere emergency situation. ". . . The excess [of women workers] over the number expected . . . does not represent a prediction of the actual extent to which workers would withdraw from the labor market if adequate employment were available for all who wish to work." "Technical and cultural changes" are cited—the loss from the home of former home crafts, the mechanical aids to home work, the change in attitude toward employing women—as well as economic necessity. Unquestionably the report will arouse the old unhappy debate regarding the displacement of men by women workers. But this is in the main a fallacy; there is no predetermined number of jobs in the labor market, but on the contrary each job ideally increases the wealth, purchasing power and hence job-creating power of the community.

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And even to the extent that the increase of women workers does represent the decrease of a certain number of men workers, the statement of the fact carries no cure. Women as well as men must live, and more and more, even outside of this emergency, women as well as men support others. It would be a disastrous thing if these figures became the basis of thought regarding the unemployment problem here. That problem goes much deeper, as is seen by the deeply hit countries in which the figure of women workers is negligible.

Spies and Propagandists

ONE OF the effects of the Munich capitulation is that the United States is looking to her defenses. As an integral part of the program the President wants Congress to pass a new espionage act to protect the national defenses themselves from prying alien eyes and to prevent the utilization of American military secrets by other powers. Mr. Roosevelt declares that the government is not so concerned about foreign propagandists. But the State Department seems to be quite concerned about them. It has just published a list of 86 "foreign agents," many of them hard-working American advertising men or boosters for various European railways. One of them is the Swiss Cheese Association. No doubt it is well to be reminded that the Big Powers have representatives in our midst who are paid to ballyhoo their products, scenic wonders and indeed their politics. The barring of the polished Mr. Evelyn St. John Loe Strachey from a tour of the nation's colleges and women's clubs is not an unmixed blessing. Granting the right of the government to keep out those who preach its overthrow even by gradual, peaceful means, we wonder if such disbarment is the part of wisdom. Is the American Republic so ailing that it cannot stand against such an esoteric presentation of Marxist thought? Does it fear that the brilliant lecturer will win a few more adherents to parlor pinkishness? It would seem that the cause of Marxism over here would gain more from the sympathy aroused by Mr. Strachey's disbarment than from his avowed propaganda.

In England—Recently

AS I SIT at my desk in a city a score of miles from London, wondering with the rest of the world how the Big Four are getting on at Munich, and by the pressure of world events disinclined to the verge of inanition to get on with work in hand, it occurs to me that readers of THE COMMONWEAL might be interested to read a few observations about England in the past few weeks: random and uncoordinated observations, of the kind the news reports are not concerned with at the moment, and made by an ordinary man with no special knowledge and no axe to grind, a man with no politics, who dislikes politics, sentimentally a monarchist, abhorring Hitlerism, fascism, industrial capitalism, and communism equally, by sympathy a man of "the left," and a war-resister by religious conviction.

I was in London all day yesterday, September 28, the day on which the conference between Hitler and Chamberlain and Mussolini and Daladier was announced. That news we did not get till mid-afternoon, though before that one newspaper had coyly come out with a placard "Mussolini To Mediate?"—which was a rumor emanating from Rome. People with whom I talked did not seem to realize the significance of this if it were true, that to bring Il Duce directly into it was a stroke presumably of political and certainly of psychological genius—we now know that that stroke was applied by the President of the United States.

But before all this broke, I had occasion to walk around a large and important section of the huge city. There was not much open evidence of war preparation; a long section of underground railway, passing under the Thames, was closed, obviously for some wartime purpose; the neighborhood of a well-known subway station, at Charing Cross, looked as if it were getting ready for a siege (actually for a shelter of some sort). There were piles of sandbags at some public buildings and offices; here and there windows were having blast boardings fixed; trenches were being dug for shelter in the central garden of the square called Lincolns Inn Fields, once strongholds of The Law. Observing this from the office window of my brother, a solicitor, I reflected that senseless and criminal bloodshed was no new thing there; Lincolns Inn Fields was once a great place for duelling and, at the Reformation, many Catholic martyrs had been executed in that spot. My brother, meanwhile, with his staff was coping with yards and yards of adhesive paper tape, planning how to make his windows gas-proof and yet not be stifled in between raids. He told me that after months of business stagnation he was overwhelmed with people wanting to make their wills—that was not a grim joke, but sober truth.

I found myself in the purlieus of the War Office. All around were recruiting offices, crammed with young men offering to enlist. But I saw no sign of enthusiasm, heard little of the banter so characteristic of the English on such occasions—but to interpret this as "calm quiet purpose" would have been sheer romanticism. On plea of "making an inquiry," I penetrated into the quadrangle where officers at tables in the open air were coping with other volunteers: I stood by one where men of from thirty to sixty were offering themselves for the Emergency Reserve of Officers.

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Again, no enthusiasm: I got the impression of men rather wearily offering their services because they felt in honor bound to do so.

For I think that that morning the vast majority of people were convinced that war was inevitable. The almost sole exception to this that I met was a well-known man (his name is familiar to readers of THE COMMONWEAL), who said to me, "War? Of course there'll be no war. There's no money in it for anybody."

I heard a good deal of anti-German talk and bitter comments on Hitler, but there again no enthusiasm: little of the venom, none of the "crusading spirit" of 1914. Almost everywhere there was admiration for and gratitude to Chamberlain; some criticized him as "weak" and a "betrayer of democracy"; a few said, in effect, "We are told we are bound to support the Czechs if Hitler attacks; but we have not been told why. Why should we, if Chamberlain fails, tag after France, and play the Reds' game by trying to smash the Nazis and turning Europe into a hell?" Talk of a "war to ensure peace," the need to bring Germany to her knees, was apt to produce bitter and contemptuous retorts; there are many who can remember 1914-1918 when we did both those things—and now look at Europe.

For a man of "the left," even though an unpolitical one, these have been shameful days. With the honorable exception of the Independent Labour party (Maxton's lot), all the left parties, the self-styled democratic parties, from the parliamentary labourites to the communists, have been drumming up a "resistance to aggressors," "making a firm stand" war. They are ready to sacrifice tens of thousands of innocent, inarticulate and helpless people in this and other countries, to cast them into a war that those people are terrified of and do not want. Speaking to an audience of strong leftish views on the evening of September 28, I ventured to say: "However undeliberately, English labour leaders and socialists are betraying the people; the English democratic parties are betraying democracy." The statement was received with applause.

These have been shaming days for a "pacifist." When all the big peace organizations should have been using all their influence, energy and resources to oppose war, in any circumstances, to confirming and making articulate a huge determination among the people not to countenance or support any war, a large proportion of them are wasting their time with political preoccupations and even aggressive anti-aggression, drumming up for a "firm stand," i. e., war. Thanks to this and to the left parties, hundreds of people who ten years ago were swearing, "I will not fight in any circumstances," are now saying, "I will fight, but only against this or against that." Among the peace organizations that are still firm for resistance against all war is the Catholic-controlled Pax, small but faithful.

Ideological passion and uncontrolled righteous anger have swept the labourites and corrupted the integrity of the peace movement. Heaven alone knows what harm has been done to the consciousness of many individuals by this anti-German, anti-Hitler, anti-fascist, anti-Mussolini, anti-aggression, anti-this, that and the other campaign, how much prejudice, emotion and hatred of fellow man it has engendered. We Catholics have been justly criticized for the aberrations of our opposition to communism, especially our "looking for communists under the bed" as Mr. Shuster puts it well. But what about looking for "fascists" under the bed? What about calling Neville Chamberlain a fascist? At least we now know, what some of us have long suspected, that the democracy of the democratic parties in Great Britain is ready to kill and maim and hate in vindication of its principles.

Nazism, fascism, are abhorrent, as abhorrent as communism. But Nazis and fascists and communists are none the less our brothers and children of God.

It seems obvious that when Chamberlain first announced his intention of going to see Hitler, that night when Europe echoed with the thud of diplomats falling into faints at such a disregard of procedure, he introduced something new and important into international politics. To quote from a letter just received, "Anyhow, it has been a joy to hear and see the Prime Minister talking and acting like a real human being instead of the sickening jargon of the His Majesty's Government stuff." If he does no more than pull off an armistice at Munich, he will, from the point of view of British politics, have dug himself in and administered an almighty buffet both to his political enemies and to the parliamentary opposition.

If Mussolini appears to have exercised a moderating influence on Hitler, his stock will go up in England, where he is not popular. And that will be good. Every lessening of dislike for persons, every controlling of anger at iniquitous régimes, is good. For the more hatred and anger there is, the more Nazism and fascism and communism there will be.

While writing the above, news comes of the four-power agreement at Munich. The lanyard is not to be pulled, the bomb released, the gas-tap turned (what sentimentalists still call "drawing the sword!")—at any rate for the present. Thank God. The Czech government has the gratitude of the world for enabling this agreement to be reached—and the Czech people are to be congratulated on avoiding a war in which they would have been the first victims, and in which they might have been destroyed as a nation.

DONALD ATTWATER.

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Europe—Two

In Western Lands . . .

THE PEACE treaty of Hitler with Poland in 1934, the Nazification of Danzig which followed, the economic penetration of Hungary, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece and the seizure of Austria early this year were only so many steps in the gradual and consistent establishment of Germany's supremacy over the Near East of Europe. It is hard to say how far Hitler's diplomats have been able to line up Rumania, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia for their remote plans. There are symptoms that they, too, have agreed to a closer cooperation with Nazi Germany. The power of attraction of the growing mass of the Third Reich seems to be irresistible in the East and it becomes more and more obvious that with the destruction of Czechoslovakia as a democracy and a military power Hitler has made his position in the East unassailable.

The West of Europe seems to have another respite in view of the fact that this process will take some time and that Hitler has to organize his newly acquired territories and his economic system. The West may be tempted to believe that he is now satisfied with what he has accomplished by ruthless and brutal means. It may have the idea that his famous *Drang nach Osten* (push toward the East) being satisfied, he will sit back and enjoy the fruit of his triumph. Has he not repeatedly told the world that he regards his western frontiers as definite, that he has no claims to Switzerland and Alsace-Lorraine? Is he not silent about the German-speaking populations of Luxemburg (and her mines) and Belgium?

But we should not forget that Hitler has a very close ally who is not yet satisfied: Benito Mussolini. And they have an equally overcrowded friend, Japan. Mussolini's dream is a revival of a Roman Empire around the Mediterranean. His immediate aims are Tunisia, Algiers, Corsica and perhaps even Egypt. It need not be necessary that all adjoining countries like Greece, Spain, Turkey and Jugoslavia must be Italian provinces. A looser connection works often much better and saves a lot of trouble. A new Roman Empire around the Mediterranean reaching far down into Africa would be in no way offensive to the new Nordic Empire of Hitler. But it would mean that France had to be defeated, or at least be treated like Czechoslovakia by her allies.

And this seems to be the crucial point of the whole situation in the West of Europe. With Austria and Czechoslovakia, France's first line of defense has gone. Her moral defeat in both cases has estranged Poland and the Little Entente.

Twenty years ago France was of vital interest for England's national defense. But things have changed. In his book, "Mein Kampf," Hitler has clearly stated that he will not rest before he has crushed France and he has made a solemn pledge to reunite all German-speaking nations within the borders of the Third Reich. As yet he has never failed to fulfil the promises given in that book.

It is France and her empire which is Hitler's and Mussolini's next aim, not far-distant Russia —for what could she afford Germany? Why, Germany has not even an approach to that far distant country! The Ukraine is 2,000 miles away from Berlin, with big Slav nations in between and no outlet toward any open ocean. And why should Hitler be such a fool as to wish to dominate a Slav nation of 50,000,000? How could he do that? It is France, herself and her colonial empire, he is after. When he has crushed her, the rest will automatically fall into his lap as did the East after Schuschnigg was deserted and fell last spring. France with her iron ore, her wine, her granaries, her chemical resources, all bordering on Alsace-Lorraine, Luxemburg and Belgium, France's empire in Central Africa, Morocco and Madagascar. That would leave Mussolini his big share in North Africa, and Japan might get Indo-China and big slices out of the Dutch East Indies, not to speak of the Congo for Germany.

And what about France's last ally, Great Britain? Could she desert France? Why should she not? She helped to make Versailles and sabotaged it, as soon as it did not suit her any longer, as witness Czechoslovakia and Austria. Warfare has changed and Great Britain is no longer safe as an island. On the contrary, continental powers are in a way less subject to a successful siege than a small island which can be starved out.

So: watch France. She may not be obviously the next, because Hitler is busy in the East and Mussolini in Spain. But among the major events of the reshaping of the world she will be first. The Treaty of Versailles will be a poor orphan boy compared with that deal. I am almost sure that most of this will be done without war, in the "peaceful way" of Austria and Czechoslovakia. Perhaps some war-scares will have to be staged in England and France to get the approval of such obsolete institutions as the House of Parliament, the Chambre des Députés, public opinion and political parties. Gas masks will have to be handed out to the public and trenches dug at the most conspicuous spots in London to let the honorable Britisher forget about his moral scruples. But that will probably be all. If well arranged, with a wink in one's eye and one's tongue in one's cheek, the next *putsch* will come off fine.

HANS ANSCAR.

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Conflicting Forecasts

—*And in the East . . .*

AFTER five years of European unrest caused by Germany's rearmament, the four powers' settlement in Munich seems to inaugurate a new period of European peace and stabilization. The Brown House, the center of Nazidom, was the scene of the settlement, which avoided a new world war and paved the way for a permanent collaboration of the Big Four in dealing with perilous European problems. The future of Spain and even a limitation of armaments may be settled in about the same manner. The personal contact of the four Big Shots seems to prove a quicker method in solving political difficulties than the bureaucratic proceedings of the League of Nations.

And Europe desires peace. If England wants to protect her interests in the Pacific, she must be able to enjoy safety in the North Sea and in the Mediterranean. France and Italy also are only too glad to avoid the risks of a European war which does not promise any favorable outcome. So they did not mind making concessions to Hitler at the cost of a country which, as a matter of fact, did not correspond to the ideal of national self-determination.

This means a turning-point, not only in Hitler's personal career, but also in the history of the German nation. The union of all Germans in one state is nearly complete, leadership in the organization of a new, peaceful Europe promises more prestige and profit than persisting in narrow-minded chauvinism. The quondam marplot of European solidarity begins to play a new part—that of a leader in European stabilization. The close cooperation of the Big Four seems to offer more promise of success than the living corpse of the League of Nations.

Hitler's triumph is that this cooperation starts with the exclusion of the Soviet Union. Her disqualification has always been the aim of this fanatic hater of Bolshevism. On the other hand, however, Anglo-German cooperation will loosen the ties between Japan and Germany. The new axis, London-Berlin, will prove more profitable. This may also put a stop to German and Italian assistance in the development of the Arabian nationalist movement.

Germany will be in one front with England, France and Italy. She will be neutral in the Far East; but she will not stop her expansion toward the Near East, though she may perhaps restrict it to cultural influence and economic collaboration. Basing themselves on certain assertions in Hitler's "Mein Kampf," written fourteen years ago, people expect him to prepare a campaign against Russia in order to conquer the Ukraine. It seems to me that today the German government does not follow such a primitive idea. Convinced that the Bolshevik system is a failure, the Nazis think an easier way for them to destroy it is to favor Russian counter-revolution. After the overthrow of the Stalin régime, the nations of the Soviet Union would break up into different national states.

White Russians and Ukrainians, once liberated from Moscow's domination, will want to unite with their *irredenta* in Poland. That may mean that these minorities will break away from Warsaw, but as a matter of fact the Polish hope is that White Russians and Ukrainians will join them in the "trialism" of a Greater Poland. If the Reich helps to bring about this result, Warsaw certainly will repay her by a new settlement of the German-Polish frontier.

This may be a dream of the future. But the expansion of Germany down the Danube and into the Balkans is already real, though it has been until now merely economic. The agricultural products of the Balkan countries and the industries of Germany complement each other in a way rather favorable for the "autarchy" of Middle and Southeastern Europe. On this basis a new agreement of commercial cooperation between Germany and Jugoslavia has been negotiated, which is supposed to be followed by similar treaties with Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey, while also relations with Hungary, Rumania and even with what is left of Czechoslovakia will tend in the same direction.

I have never believed in the strength of the German underground movement. The new platform of Hitler, the "peace-maker," will weaken even more its desperate efforts. This last success will at first mislead the Nazis into intensifying persecution of the Jews, into making greater attacks against the "Asiatic superstitions" of the Church, and into stressing even more neo-pagan propaganda. After a while, however, it will become evident that such radicalism is not in harmony with the atmosphere of international cooperation and the new prosperity. So the influence of the party radicals probably will diminish with the evident success of the new European policy, and there seems to be some chance that the more conservative element may regain influence.

Another very important element in the situation is that times of brutality and suffering prepare the path for religious deepening and passionate inward life. How these spiritual forces may influence material events is beyond the limits of human imagination.

C. O. CLEVELAND.

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Mr. Chamberlain's Dove

By GEORGE N. SHUSTER

THE ROMANS had their Fabius surnamed Cunctator, reputed to have vanquished Hannibal by the simple expedient of dodging a fight. Have the British resurrected him? Or is Mr. Chamberlain just a tired old man, head of a worried Empire, who was permitted for one short moment to suppose that he might be another Disraeli? Again it may be that the extraordinary situation in which the human race found itself is the overture to a new, as yet undefinable European drama. You may take your choice. But certain things have become relatively clear, and they are not all good. I shall try to describe them.

We came to Venice out of a gobbled-up Austria during the middle of March last, and there chanced to overhear a conversation between a German agent (they were all ordering three eggs for breakfast) and a friend. The agent stated emphatically that Czechoslovakia was to be disposed of in six months' time. He discussed details with a rare prophetic accuracy. I think we may safely assume that if this tall and rather offensive oracle was so easy to meet in a hotel room, there was no reason why a foreign government with plenty of trained snoopers should be taken by surprise. A blow was to be struck at the French security system in Europe. The French knew it, and I rather fancy Mr. Chamberlain did, too. Yet on May 21 everybody seemed quite astonished when the "crisis" momentarily became acute, and we foreigners moved closer to the next ship.

At this moment the visit of the King and Queen to Paris was in preparation. It was understood that their coming symbolized the unity which bound together not so much the two peoples as their general staffs. Gentlemen who claimed to be in the know declared that the supreme army and navy commands had been named in advance. It began to seem that something more than stage scenery was being overhauled; and from this moment forward the same impression was created by innumerable acts of these brethren in arms. Both Britain and France ordered airplanes from a pacific United States. There were even signs indicating that whatever common sense prevailed in Paris and London was being pooled for the sake of controlling the Spanish War. For as soon as that is really controlled, it will be over. To make a long story short, this patient build-up of an approach by the "democracies" to grim reality was continued until the moment Messrs. Chamberlain and Daladier backed down in Munich.

Now I am one of those who believe that German armies would never have marched into the dales of Bohemia if it had been clearly understood that there was to be a war. It is easy to be mistaken in this dark world, and I do not set down this hypothesis as a fact. Nevertheless I have seen quite a bit of evidence supporting my contention, and none which controverts it. The really important query therefore is: how did Mr. Hitler's advisers know there would be no war? They undoubtedly received some information from London, supplied by Conservatives who control the purse on which Mr. Chamberlain's party is contingent. But so long as a man like Duff-Cooper was Lord of the Admiralty, so long as Mr. Eden remained the most popular figure in England, so long as Lord Halifax's stomach was turned by what had occurred in Vienna, one could not be absolutely positive. Indeed, some future historian may discover that for ten seconds Mr. Chamberlain himself was not quite sure.

What I believe the Germans knew absolutely was that the Russian bear had both arms in a sling. One had, of course, gathered as much from assorted arms merchants, military attachés and other folk not difficult to meet in better continental cities. Of these things, however, the Germans had possibly an unusually intimate knowledge. I think that even American intellectuals ought now to admit, with what grace they can, that the millions of men armed to the teeth and yearning to die for Stalin reported in various propaganda sheets might just as well have been items in a stamp collection. About all one could really hope to get from Moscow was Mr. Litvinoff and a few planes more or less in need of repair. Admittedly Hitler would still have been in a tight spot if war had come. But the chances were good that Czechoslovakia, unaided from the East, would have been destroyed anyhow before help could have arrived.

Under these circumstances, British diplomacy acted under a certain handicap. On the one hand, the diplomats couldn't be at all sure that Mr. Chamberlain wanted them to discard the diction of sweet reasonableness. On the other hand, Britain had been sickened by the news from Vienna, and by the quite evident fact that the Empire had absolved every marauder who had ventured to disregard the sovereignty and rights of small nations. English minds are still very responsive to that kind of evidence; and though the Labour party was never so poorly led as now, the fact of the matter is that three out of every four Englishmen are Labourites at heart, in their better moments. It was therefore next to im-

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possible to declare bluntly that Czechoslovakia could be rent asunder for all His Majesty's government proposed to do about it. Lord Runciman was dispatched to the scene, in an effort to muster world opinion in favor of an irenic solution of the problem known in advance. No assignment could have been more difficult. Since then Lord Runciman had made several different kinds of statements, as the occasion demanded. Why blame him? England expects every man to do his duty.

Objectively regarded, the Sudeten problem is an interesting one. This population has produced more intellectual half-wits and more varieties of patriotic neurosis than can be listed in a book. Though such proclivities are of an ancient growth, post-war inflation gave them a new luxuriance. It was an unpardonable blunder to disrupt the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. But it was a crime to think that peace could ever come to the tune of wiped-out fortunes and the wailing of distraught females without their dots. Inevitably political reconstruction passed by the defeated minorities and favored instead the new beneficiaries of the "right of self-determination." Hatred sank deep into the furrows of time. But the last word to be said on the subject of the Sudeten minorities, from an historical point of view, is this: if Masaryk and Benes had exercised the same magnanimity as some of their neighbors and had driven out the German minority with a fine-tooth comb their country would doubtless have found a place among Hitler's allies in the year 1938! I leave that for the lover of humanity to digest. If he can do so, I envy him. The benighted humanitarianism of Masaryk had its tares; the Czechs made blunders. Blunders of tact and worse. But all these do not alter the circumstance that the only two places in all Europe where minorities were ever decently treated were Czechoslovakia and the Weimar Republic. The reader may miss these details in the Runciman reports. If so, he should be cautioned that Mr. Chamberlain's government has other things to do than write history. It makes history, even in reverse gear.

Let me confess that for a moment I thought that the British were so disgusted with what Hitler had done to Austria that nothing would help but to say so publicly and to point the guns toward Berlin. The thing went so far that Mr. Chamberlain actually ordered gas masks for the king—an achievement that seemed hardly possible last March. It may be that the London Nazis were momentarily bowled over and that President Roosevelt's magnificent plea for peace ironically rescued them from the importance of being earnest. At all events—whatever the inside story of that moment may be—England looked war in the face just long enough to enable Mr. Chamberlain to come back from Munich with the honor of the democracies sandwiched between the dove of peace and a verse from Shakespeare. The solution reached in Munich is curiously like the ill-fated memorandum on Abyssinia drawn up by Messrs. Laval and Hoare, which an indignant Britain rejected. Czechoslovakia is still a sovereign state, and Mr. Chamberlain is mailing a cheque for several million. That is something. Had Czechoslovakia been without powerful allies, not an inch would have remained of it six months hence. One must be fair and admit that Britain and France did accomplish a little. They compelled the Czechs to pay a price for peace and Prague—a heavy but not necessarily fatal price.

Even so the taste of gall and wormwood is in all our mouths.

PEOPLE still do not realize what a Nazi invasion means. Fear and frenzy precede it like vultures. Months previous, the heads of those who opposed the doctrines of Hitler have been marked for the slaughter. No last minute conversions, no fawning before the flunkies of this Mohammed, will suffice. The terror grips tens of thousands, changing them into grinning puppets with a salute they do not understand on their lips. Witness what happened to the Sudeten Catholic party, merged by order of its frightened leaders into Henlein's party after the Austrian Anschluss. It is the irony of fate that Monsignor Hilgenreiner had to prepare to welcome the cudgel-swingers of Hitler on nearly the selfsame day on which his friend Cardinal Innitzer caused to have read from the pulpits of Vienna the confession of his defeat and despair. No honest man will characterize as less than a fearful outrage the surrender of districts wherein 50 percent of the inhabitants voted for Henlein in the name of "self-determination." What is to happen to the other 50 percent? What is to happen even to very many of those who voted Nazi? Some news of the purge and the pogrom has leaked out but there are no Viennas in those hills. What lay under the conqueror's chariot wheels will for the most part never be picked up even by a chance reporter. Already the tide of refugees stripped of everything has moved out into the world that has no room for refugees. Why should we hesitate to remind ourselves at this juncture that at the Evian Conference it was Mr. Chamberlain's government in particular which expressed regret at having no room? May I suggest another cheque for fifty million levied this time on the gentry in his entourage who have made theirs helping Mr. Hitler to rearm?

Yes one can understand a good deal about the Munich agreement. One can sympathize with a French Premier saving what he thought might be saved. There is no sane man who will refuse to do all he can to ward off the curse of war. One knows full well at a safe American distance, what

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it would mean to London to swap a blockade for air raids. But there are a few of us left who cannot stomach the fact that this travesty on everything good men have deemed international morality should be termed anything but a ghastly bargain—just another entry into the ledger of those who, wherever they be, have helped make Hitler what he is today. We detest seeing dastardly brutality wrapped up in some of the most beautiful words civilization has saved from an evil century—peace, justice, honor, Christianity. For we cannot forget that when Mr. Chamberlain hid his calculus under the mantle of holiness, he repudiated the only saints and heroes of our time—those of every creed and every race, who suffer persecution for justice's sake.

Under the circumstances an American publicist can only express solidarity with that large group of Englishmen who feel about this whole business exactly as we feel. The time may be nearer than we now imagine when the destinies of their country will lie in their hands; and I for one know of no group left on earth which shares so completely the deepest instincts of the American freeman. Perhaps then all of us together can think once more of some ideal of collective security sponsored bravely in behalf of no vested interest but of what one can today only allude to bitterly as "peace with justice."

BUT IT is a long way before we shall come to that turn in the road. At first many people believed that in Munich Hitler must have made some concessions in order to have his way with the Czechs, but the information available shows quite clearly that nothing of the sort was obtained. The resignations and the statements of leading Englishmen indicate that not one step has been taken toward disarmament or the organization of a "League without Versailles." It is the worst brand of soft-soap to suppose oratorically (or editorially) that Hitler is now satiated. The acquisition of Austria and of the Sudeten districts mean nothing unless one is thinking in terms of *potentiel de guerre*. Austria is an economic liability; the Sudeten districts are not even that. Only when one thinks of the increased power of the German war machine does the expansion make sense. Some have fancied that, by way of compensation, the ranks of those opposed to the tyranny of his party have grown stronger. I am sorry, but I think this a romantic idea. The only serious opposition Hitler has ever encountered has come from Prussia; and the sentence passed on old Count Westarp—jail for fifteen years—will seldom need a duplicate in Southern or Austrian Germany. Besides, who does not see that opposition is fearfully difficult when its leaders find that those they look upon as their allies in the outside world suffer Adolf Hitler to besmirch even the dove of peace?

Under the circumstances, the pouring of the world's resources into armaments, the creation of expensive autarchic industries and the fomenting of peripheral wars in order to furnish an outlet for outmoded military equipment must go on. Only a miracle can save England from conscription. And in a world armed to the teeth, the American citizen would be quite an anomaly if he, too, were not bogged down with cartridges and hand grenades. Yet I think that is not the worst that may come. It is not for me to dictate anybody else's war and peace morality, but my own mind is made up. The worst comes when surrender will seem sweeter than resistance. The worst comes when those things that are greater than governments—inalienable human rights—seem less important than saving one's skin. Or saving what one thinks is the moral righteousness of peace.

When that worst of times comes, if it must come, I hope our children remember that from the beginning those British Tories who have of late quoted for us unctuously the words of Holy Writ have aided and abetted Hitler because they looked upon him as their natural ally against all the upsurgence of labor and all other ills. Without their tacit or expressed consent, he would never have marched troops into the Rhineland, never have gone into Austria, never have taken the Sudetenland. Indeed there would probably still be a democratic, a social, even a Christian Germany. Those are terrible words but they are true. On the lips of the aged Pontiff in Rome, battling almost single-handed inside a Vatican that is more a prison than it has ever been, there have stood the words of Gregory VII: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity." At least we can follow to the extent of saying that justice and iniquity are not the same thing.

Customer

Young Ezra strode into the store and cried,
"I've bought the Hiram Haskins' eighty. Now
I'll have to have some overalls." He spied
the pile and thumbed the denim, and somehow
the smell of factory cloth was sweet
to him.
"This number can't be beat,"
the little Jew assured him, "neat,
but stitched to wear like iron," and he eyed
the youth to judge his size.
"I start to plough
tomorrow morning where the wheat
was cut." Young Ezra's smile was crooked for
in fancy he already proudly wore
the universal blue of land once more.

BEULAH JACKSON CHARMLEY.

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Political Causes of International Disorder[1]

By JOHN A. RYAN

FROM one point of view international disorder is always the immediate result of governmental acts or omissions. It is political governments that begin wars and it is political governments that create the tensions and crises which make war a continuing threat or an inevitable outcome. Behind the political causes lie factors which fall within other categories, ethical, racial and economic. I confine myself in this article to those causes which are political in a specific sense. Moreover, I shall not deal with such political causes as the struggle for colonies, the competition in armaments, international imperialism, doctrines of sovereignty or conceptions of nationalism. Nor shall I discuss any political cause which antedates the Great War. I shall concentrate my remarks upon those particular political causes which have arisen since the year 1913.

In the year 1924, I published a pamphlet, entitled "Christian Charity and the Plight of Europe." The main conclusions which I there set down may be summarized as follows. The evil conditions existing in all the European countries that participated in the Great War are mainly due to violations of the precept of charity. Of these offenses the most conspicuous and most destructive were: Austria's treatment of Serbia in July, 1914; the refusal of the belligerents to accept Pope Benedict's proposals for ending the war in 1917; the cruel and impossible provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, and the attitudes of Great Britain and the United States toward the war debts owed them by the other Allies.

The uncharity which moved all the belligerents to reject Pope Benedict's peace proposals continued to sway them until they had produced that astonishing compound of stupidity and vengeance known as the Treaty of Versailles. The enormous and fantastic burden of reparations imposed upon Germany postponed indefinitely that country's economic recovery and greatly contributed to the emergence of Adolph Hitler. Important contributions to the same disastrous outcome flowed from those provisions of the treaty which deprived Germany of her colonies and compelled her representatives at Versailles to confess, or pretend to confess, that their country alone was morally guilty of provoking the Great War.

Nor can our own country be exonerated from complicity in the subsequent offenses and errors. In the year 1920, John Maynard Keynes suggested that the United States and Great Britain cancel the war debts owed them by France, Italy and Belgium, and that the reparations imposed upon Germany be reduced to a figure within that country's capacity to pay. Had these suggestions been accepted, the grievances and economic difficulties of Germany would have been greatly lessened, the burden of Inter-Ally war debts resting upon Great Britain, France and Italy would have been lifted, while the condonation of reparations by Great Britain and the cancellation of war debts by the United States would not have deprived these two countries of any substantial amounts that they were subsequently able to collect. The far greater part of the reparations will never be recovered from Germany, nor will the bulk of the war debts ever be paid by the Allies to the United States. Both of these events are economically impossible—to say nothing of their political implications.

Such were the actions and omissions which became the most powerful primary political causes of the present international disorder. Other and more immediate causes are themselves effects of the Great War or of the Treaty of Versailles. I allude to Soviet Communism, Italian Fascism and German Nazism. While the first of these does not derive from the Treaty of Versailles, it reaches back to the precipitate mobilization of the Russian troops on the German border in July, 1914. That was one of the political causes of the Great War and, therefore, one of the *causae causarum* of Soviet Communism. Italian Fascism likewise owes little or nothing to the Treaty of Versailles, but it is one of the specific consequences of the Great War. German Nazism can, of course, be traced directly to the uncharitable, unjust and impossible provisions of the treaty.

However much they differ from one another in other respects, Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany agree in upholding and enforcing the unspeakable doctrine that all human rights are created by the State, that there exist no such prerogatives as natural rights, that no person possesses any rights, privileges, immunities or guarantees against the political government which claims his allegiance. Assuredly there is nothing new in this. It was part of the political philosophy of pagan antiquity. Its revival within the last twenty years in nations which for more than a thousand years professed one or other form of Christianity, is not the least disturbing feature of the present international situation.

[1] This article is taken from a speech delivered by Monsignor Ryan at the Catholic International Peace Congress at The Hague, August 19-22, 1938.

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Where men are not permitted to criticize the acts of their government, the most irrational and destructive attacks upon international peace and order become feasible and relatively easy. The government deprives itself of a vitally important safeguard against rash decision and actions. The masses can be mobilized in favor of almost any international injustice.

LET US now consider briefly some causes of international disorder which are specific to one or other of these three political powers. For several years after its establishment, Soviet Russia openly proclaimed its intention of provoking a world revolution in order to bring about universal communism. Although this design has received less emphasis in recent proclamations of policy by the Soviet government, it will continue to be a serious threat to the safety of most of the countries of Europe and to some of those of Asia. Moreover, the Soviet policy of propagandizing in favor of communism has not been effectively disavowed. While it continues to operate it will continue to be a powerful cause of international friction.

The Soviet régime might keep alive its endeavors to convert the greater part of the world to communism by whatever methods seemed to it most expedient and effective; or it could be gradually transformed into a non-violent and non-international form of collectivism. In the former case it would remain an active menace to world peace; in the latter case, it might in time come to be regarded as a state with which other states could safely maintain normal relations.

Which of these courses is Soviet Russia likely to adopt? The answer depends mainly upon the progress which communism makes in certain other countries of Europe and possibly in China. If, *quod Deus avertat,* the civil war in Spain should end in a victory for the "Loyalists" the world influence of communism would be greatly increased and the efforts of the Soviet government to provoke world revolution would be greatly encouraged. If, as now happily seems to be overwhelmingly probable, the "Loyalists" are defeated, the cause of communism will be considerably weakened and the confidence of the Soviet régime in the project of world revolution will be greatly diminished. My own forecast, made without much confidence, is that if the Soviet régime is not overthrown within five years by internal revolution it will gradually become less and less communistic and less and less devoted to the policy of world revolution. In the meantime it continues to be a potent cause of international disorder.

According to report, Mussolini once declared that Italian Fascism is not a commodity for export. If the world could accept this assurance, if the other nations of Europe could feel confident that Fascist Italy entertains no desire of conquest, international peace would have nothing to fear from the régime now established in Italy. However, the world cannot quickly forget the adventure into Ethiopia. Economically that enterprise seems to have been very unprofitable; for the natural resources of Ethiopia do not promise to be sufficiently great to offset the vast expenditures of money and lives in the conquest, or to provide Italy with an outlet for her surplus population or with the raw materials that she needs so badly. Nevertheless, Mussolini seems to have been able to persuade the Italian people that the Ethiopian adventure would be well worth undertaking.

Il Duce is not, indeed, a madman, like Der Fuehrer. In many respects he is a realist. Suppose, however, that economic and fiscal conditions in Italy should continue in their present parlous state, or even should grow worse. Then it might become necessary once more to divert the minds of the Italian people from present and pressing economic realities. The recent anti-Semitic report of the Fascist professors seems to exemplify this technique, this "defense mechanism." Suppose, then, that Mussolini should think it necessary to make a war of aggression against some presumably weaker nation. He could again appeal to the factitious pride of his people in their heritage from Ancient Rome and in their imperial destiny. Just where he would strike, or with what measure of success, is not now predictable, but there is no doubt that he still remains one of the potential political causes of international disorder.

German Nazism is clearly the most definite and the most formidable threat to international order and security. Its theory of racial purity and racial superiority, and its propagation of a belligerent and fanatical type of racial consciousness, produce a peculiarly virulent type of nationalism. It is a type which creates in the minds of the German people the obsession that they and their country are above all others, and that this superiority is based upon blood and birth. Naturally this obsession breeds a feeling of contempt for the quality of other peoples and a disposition to rely upon force rather than negotiation for the adjustment of international differences. Moreover, the Nazi doctrine that the German Reich has a right to concern itself actively and militantly with the welfare and status of men and women of German blood everywhere, is a constant threat to all the weaker states that happen to include a considerable number of citizens who are German by birth or ancestry. Finally, and perhaps most disturbing of all, Nazism scoffs at Christian brotherhood, opposes the cultivation of peaceful attitudes, practises wholesale lying and deception and in general inculcates a worse than pagan code of ethics. In a word, German Nazism is probably one of the most fearful causes of international disorder that the world has ever seen.

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The fundamental remedy for the political causes of international disorder is, of course, the application of the Christian moral law. Every international maladjustment that we know, every threat to international peace, would disappear, if only men brought to bear upon them the precepts of charity and justice. This is true today and it has always been true. Unfortunately, the application of moral principles to international affairs is more difficult now than it would have been on the eve of the Great War. At that time, all the large powers paid lip service, at least, to the traditional codes of morality, however great was their failure to apply these principles to the contemporary international situation. Today several of the great powers do not even accept the principles as a matter of theory. What hope is there of inducing rulers and nations to practise brotherly love toward other nations, when they do not even believe in brotherly love? What hope is there of persuading them to exemplify justice in international relations when they believe only in force?

In every important country of the world, Catholics have spoken frequently and eloquently in favor of Christian principles as means of maintaining international order and peace. But a considerable part of the talk and the writing has been platitudinous and futile. Not a little of it sounded, and still sounds, smug and self-righteous. We have not unfrequently used language which implied that we ourselves would never, never be guilty of those violations of Christian principles which have characterized some of the policies and acts of other countries than our own. When critical situations have arisen in our own countries, we have not seldom failed to apply thereto moral principles in an intelligent and specific manner. Sometimes we have been about as vague and evasive as the man who would quote the Seventh Commandment as an adequate answer to a question concerning the morality of some complex transaction on the stock exchange. We have pronounced comprehensive and minute moral judgments upon the adequate causes and the practises of war, but we have not been equally specific concerning the moral obligation and the methods of promoting peace.

Until recent years, we almost entirely neglected the most essential factor in the maintenance of peace; that is, organization. Had the Catholics of the world been internationally organized for peace from the time when Pope Leo XIII made his first pronouncement on that subject, it is not improbable that they might have been able to prevent the Great War. So far as I know, there existed no international Catholic peace movement until that devastating conflict had come to an end.

If we wish to be effective in promoting international peace and abolishing international disorder, our first act must be to realize that these ends cannot be attained without organization and institutions. Individual preaching no matter how intelligent, fervent or eloquent, will not suffice. We must be organized as Catholics and we must give what help we can to all other peace organizations that are striving toward the common goal. Moreover, international disorder cannot be remedied, without effective institutions. Under this head I decidedly do not include what has come to be known as pacts for "collective security." At best, these would be a revival of that discredited device of unstable equilibrium known to pre-war history as a "balance of powers." At worst, it could easily become an international instrument for the diffusion of communism.

THE ONLY institution that is capable of providing adequate means for the removal of international disorder is a Society of Nations. As we know, and we are proud of the fact, the correct outline of such a society was earnestly recommended to the world by Pope Benedict XV a score of years ago. It still remains the one hope for international peace, possibly the one hope of civilization. To the best of my knowledge, I made the first public address that was delivered in the United States after the Armistice in favor of a League of Nations. That was in December, 1918. Like all other believers in the League that was drawn up in 1919, I have observed with the deepest regret its failure to realize the high hopes of its advocates. Many times in the last fifteen years I have asked myself whether it would ever be made effective, whether, indeed, it was worth preserving. Like many other believers in juridical international processes, I have wondered what would have been the history of the League had my own country become a member. Who knows? Possibly participation by the United States would have brought about the correction of the grosser iniquities of the Treaty of Versailles, would have infused into the League a new and saner spirit and prevented many of the international disorders that now fill us with fear and foreboding. One thing is certain: the abstention of the United States has not contributed to international peace or international justice.

Let it be conceded, if anyone prefers that view, that the choice before Catholics is a choice of evils. The lesser evil is to give our support to the League, to do what we can to make it approach the pattern drawn by Pope Benedict XV. There is no rational alternative. There is no possibility that an entirely new Society of Nations will be organized. Failure to support the present League of Nations means sitting with folded hands, refusing to take an intelligent or effective part in the effort to abolish international disorder. It means indefinite postponement of the "Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ."

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"The Most Vital Movement"

By EMERSON HYNES

IN 1738 several hundred French Catholics lived together on the banks of the Wabash River in a corporate agrarian community, with a central village, common pastures, and unfenced fields; the settlement was called Vincennes. Two hundred years later, from September 25-28, Vincennes, Indiana—now thoroughly Anglicized and completely changed by the years—was the convention city of a rising agrarian movement, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. The conference was recently called by a distinguished philosopher, "the most vital movement in America today"; and its sixteenth annual convention, which was held under the patronage of the Most Reverend Joseph E. Ritter, Bishop of Indianapolis, gave evidence of the lively and progressive spirit which motivates the members.

"Dedicated to the achievement of economic, social and spiritual security for rural America" is the slogan of the conference. It is first of all a Catholic rural life movement, and that means that plans for the religious welfare and spiritual development of the farmer take precedence over proposals for his economic betterment. "The conference has trained its eye especially upon the development and strengthening of religious life on the farm. This is its chief objective," declared the Most Reverend Aloisius J. Muench, Bishop of Fargo, in the opening address of the convention. And the presence of two archbishops, twelve bishops, three Benedictine abbots, hundreds of priests and nuns, as well as thousands of the laity, is part of the proof that the Church is serious in its determination to do something for the farmer. More telling evidence, however, comes from a survey of some of the keynote principles, of the problems discussed, the plans proposed, and from an appreciation of the zeal and convictions of the delegates, a spirit impossible to express in writing but most assuredly there.

The land as the natural place for family life was the principle most often expressed at the convention. It is on the farm that the family thrives, that solidarity comes naturally, that children learn sound habits and develop normally. The temptations for artificially restricting the size of the family are fewer, and divorce is infrequent; last year the number of divorces in Chicago as compared to several rural counties surrounding that city was, in proportion to population, as eight to one. United States census figures show that the number of births in cities over 100,000 lacks more than 20 percent of maintaining a stationary population in those cities, while in strictly rural areas there is a 50 percent surplus. "These facts do not just happen but result naturally and necessarily from a contrast of urban with rural life," explained the Most Reverend Charles D. White, Bishop of Spokane. "The National Catholic Rural Life Conference has a work, namely, to inculcate the true philosophy of life so as to cause the rising generation . . . to realize the intrinsic excellence of rural life."

For the first time at the national convention a Youth Section was included in the program. Up to a few years ago rural youth was immune from most of the harmful influences which have too often corrupted urban children. But now, communists and other materialistic groups realize that the America of tomorrow will come largely from the rural youth of today (since the cities fall far short of reproducing their populations); and every means, including the press, radio and movies, is being used to corrupt rural youth. The Reverend William T. Mulloy of Fargo discussed over the National Farm and Home hour of the National Broadcasting System the conference program for protecting youth. Religion and the home, he said, are the two keystones of the policy; establishing religious vacation schools for all rural children, in cooperation with the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, has been one of the major accomplishments of the conference. Catholic Boy Scouts, the junior Red Cross organization, 4-H clubs are all being sponsored.

The sessions on rural youth led naturally into the discussion of one of the most pressing problems, the discrimination of rural education against rural life. It is an indisputable fact that rural teachers, usually city trained, have taken it for granted that their pupils were to be aimed for a life in industry; and the rural curriculum, likewise, has been planned to fit students for city life. Achievement in the city has been preached as a standard of success. And the delegates to the convention went on record for demanding a rural curriculum for rural education, with teachers who have a knowledge and appreciation of farm life. The day should come when farm accounting will be taught as well as junior business training, when scientific agronomy and craft work can be chosen in place of (industrial) chemistry and physics.

Sharp criticism of the general anti-rural approach of Catholic colleges was voiced by Professor Willis D. Nutting of Notre Dame University. Professor Nutting, with pride, styles himself a dirt farmer and was forced to leave the convention early, not to return to his classes at the

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university, but to care for his livestock! Speaking on agriculture as a career for the Catholic college graduate, he lamented the fact that practically no graduates choose farming as a career. The general atmosphere of the college campus with its multi-student activities and its too convenient and too luxurious dormitory facilities, creates a distaste for the simplicity and frugality of farm life. More objectionable is the attitude which pervades the classroom. Even the classical departments are at fault, for they foster an idea of culture which requires leisure, makes for softness, aspires for physical comforts, and has a horror of dirt and manual labor. Further, it is a culture of passivity instead of activity, for appreciation rather than creation, for looking on and enjoying instead of doing. No one will return to the farm who has absorbed such a concept of values.

By taking Professor Nutting's statements, one comes logically to the astounding conclusion that, in so far as they are sending no graduates to the land, Catholic colleges are harming the Church in America; for the virility of the family and the Church comes from those on the soil. If rural life were strongly encouraged by Catholic colleges, hope might be instilled in thousands of college students who dread the day of graduation because it means either the beginning of forced idleness or the binding of themselves into the slavery of the totalitarian industrial system.

IMPRESSIVE as an example of what sane rural education can do was the exhibit of the Assumption High School, Granger, Iowa. Three students were present at the convention and, under the guidance of their assistant pastor, Reverend John J. Gorman, gave demonstrations of the many crafts which can be developed in the home. Before the eyes of the delegates, two girls took wool, carded it, spun it on a spinning wheel, which had been built by the boys, and wove the yarn on a hand loom (likewise home-built) into a beautiful rug with an intricate design. Specimens of needlepoint, crocheting, of woven rugs and shawls, were exhibited—all the work being done without need for cash expenditures. A striking exhibit was also arranged to drive home the point that the salvation of the farmer lies in a return to the idea of making his own living. With flour which is ground in the home (a mechanical hand grinder may be purchased for less than $3) a loaf of bread can be made from twelve ounces of wheat. But it takes seven and one-half pounds of wheat (if it is selling at $.75 a bushel) to buy a ten-cent loaf of bread at a grocery store! And that is to say nothing of the superiority of the taste and the increase of food value of whole wheat bread as compared with the pasty bread made from white flour which, as Ralph Borsodi says, the weevils scorn.

Most controversial of subjects discussed at the convention was the cooperative movement and consumers co-ops in particular. A majority were agreed that under certain circumstances co-ops are necessary to obtain justice for the farmer; examples of satisfactory cooperatives, many of them organized by priests, were cited. But since there was determined opposition by some to the recommendation of cooperatives as the number one technique for securing the farmer's economic betterment, no final or absolute endorsement of the cooperative movement was made. A special cooperative section will continue to analyze the essential substance of the movement and observe current developments.

A number of other important problems were considered. The Reverend Edgar Schmiedeler, O.S.B., director of the Rural Life Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, analyzed the tax problem. Technical addresses on homesteading, rural credit, public welfare work in rural communities, rural medical needs, on recreation and leisure for the farmer, were given. Also included in the program was a Home Missionary Section and suggestions for the spread of St. Vincent de Paul Societies and the Catholic Charities to rural areas.

"Migrants on the march" was a problem brought to the attention of the conference by the Reverend Patrick T. Quinlan, Hartford diocesan director of rural life. There are an estimated 2,000,000 seasonal workers in the United States; they are largely a nomadic group, often unemployed, and always without opportunity for school and religious education. Largely of foreign origin, these workers are 90 percent Catholic; but because no way has been devised to care for their spiritual needs, large numbers are being lost to the Faith. Father Quinlan, after pointing out the progress made in Connecticut in solving the migrant problem, asked the conference to extend the work throughout the nation.

Interesting, too, was a description by Sister Margaret Guest, Superior, of the work being done in rural areas by the Sisters of Service. This recently founded Canadian sisterhood retains all that is essential to a religious community but has eliminated all accidental characteristics which would hinder its work. Their garb is a conservative grey uniform, without a coif, and they can travel and work alone. They have brought religious education into sparsely settled regions of rural Canada, and in the coming year will extend their work to the United States, in the diocese of Fargo.

The concluding address of the convention was delivered by the Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara, Bishop of Great Falls, who seventeen years ago was instrumental in founding the conference. At the same gathering it was announced that all the officers had been reelected for the

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coming year: the group includes Monsignor Luigi Ligutti, Granger, Iowa, president of the conference, and Reverend James A. Byrnes, St. Paul, executive secretary. It is noteworthy that the convention ended with an old-fashioned picnic—perhaps the first time since side-burns were in fashion that a serious-minded convention has concluded ceremonies in a normal way instead of with a stiff-front banquet.

ALL IN ALL, the convention abounded in fine speakers, many of whom issued challenges to the Church and the conference to meet the problems they brought forward. But all conventions abound in good speeches, and challenges are always flung. Not the convention itself, but the effect of it, is what counts. What may be expected of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference? Is it truly "the most vital movement"? What action is being inaugurated?

Bishop Muench asked and answered similar questions at one of the general assemblies. Among practical things being done by the conference, he said, are: the conduction of diocesan schools for training rural teachers; the assisting in the effort to provide every rural youth with opportunity for religious education; the formation of study clubs and credit unions; the establishment of a "library loan service," a selected group of books on rural topics being sent free to any group of priests who agree to study the rural problems; the sponsoring of a national rural life essay contest for school children; and the publication of a quarterly devoted to the interests of rural America, the *Catholic Rural Life Bulletin*. "But the most practical thing in the world," Bishop Muench stated, "is an idea. It is the only weapon of the Church today. And if anyone should believe in the power of an idea, it is a Catholic."

The same thought was expressed by Monsignor Ligutti, dynamic president of the conference: "We are asked for a program of action—I say, go out and do it yourselves. We can give you a philosophy, an example or two, but the action must come from you." He referred to the regeneration of Nova Scotia as evidence of vigorous Catholic Action, springing from the leadership of two men and the self-education of their people, determined to do for themselves.

That, then, is the value of the convention—ideas; a philosophy; an example or two; an increasingly larger number of priests, especially among the younger clergy, stimulated to teach and lead; and a strengthening of their conviction that the virility of the Church in America, as well as the salvation of our democratic form of government, lies in a stable, deep-rooted rural life for the majority of the citizens. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference can bring aid and hope to a bewildered and unorganized farm population.

Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

THE ANTI-CATHOLIC Nazi riots in Vienna are trifling affairs—so far—when compared with the really business-like outbursts provoked by hatred of the Church in Spain. The slight wounding of the Cardinal Archbishop, and the more serious yet not fatal injuries inflicted upon a priest thrown out of a window, together with the destruction or the looting of a considerable amount of ecclesiastical property, certainly shrinks into comparative insignificance when put beside the ten to twelve thousand bishops and priests who were slaughtered and the enormous destruction of churches and schools and treasures of sacred art in Spain. And the riots were quelled, or at least controlled, by the higher Nazi authorities, before they could develop into the monstrous horrors witnessed in Spain.

Nevertheless, the spirit which roused and moved the Nazi mobs in Vienna was the same spirit that inspired and guided the rioters in Spain. It was the same spirit whose workings in the souls of its devotees or victims were marked with the blood of priests and nuns and laymen in Mexico not long ago, and which still broods menacingly over the people of that land. It is the same spirit that controls the policy of the rulers of Russia, increasing or slackening the intensity of its relentless efforts to crush the Church according to its own judgments as to the timeliness of violence or of specious tolerance, and even, as at present, seeking the temporary cooperation of its destined victims for immediately necessary measures of opposition against forces which it dreads only secondarily to its ultimate enemy, the Catholic Church—the forces of rival totalitarian régimes. It is the same spirit of hatred of the Church which has manifested itself ever since the Church was founded, and which in two thousand years has assumed almost as many forms as could Proteus, the god of changeability. It was only and now also only can be constant in its purpose of destruction.

Today that spirit has assumed perhaps the most formidable, and certainly the most readily recognizable, character of all its myriad manifestations. For the first time in the history of mankind—so far as records run—mighty nations, and masses of humanity greater than any single nation or race can ever be when merely held together by natural national forces or racial emotions, such as international Communism, headed by Russia, and organized by Russia's world apostolate, have appeared which are organized upon a foundation of atheism: upon the denial and repudiation of God. But they who are the creators and leaders of this new world-movement of the Spirit of Denial have well learned the great lesson which all the pages of human history reveals—namely, the fact that men must worship and serve something, some spirit other than and believed to be superior to themselves as individuals. A few men and women, here and there, may delude themselves for greater or lesser

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periods of time into thinking or, rather, feeling, that they are not only self-determined but also self-sufficient. The truth is that, as mad people always do, they worship—or try to worship—themselves. They gain few and scattered followers; and write and study philosophical systems which are the seed-plots of fantastic and utterly sterile social experiments, or which, when aided by the sorceries of artistic genius, may and do foment the lesser sort of war and revolution. But not until our own fateful time has disobedience to God and the concurrent worship of some false god or other—the Utopian Mass-Man of Communism, the Racial idolatry of the Nazis, the Imperial State of Fascism—been organized on a world-wide scale, differing in some respects, but all united by their hatred of the Church of Christ and attempting all together to at last and finally destroy it.

For Catholics in this country—where as yet the spirit which hates them and must hate them, for in that hatred only does that spirit live, is as yet amorphous, yet nevertheless present among us, seeking its instruments, making ready for the organizing of its as yet scattered and uncertain servants and allies—the riots in Vienna are perhaps more significant than the slaughter of the clergy in Spain. That latter onslaught, brutal and direct and horrible as it was, and deadly in its import of what would follow upon the triumph of the forces which inspired or tolerated it, is less of a menace to the Church than would be the continued growth of the Nazi idolatry and its satellite, the Fascist state fanaticism. American Catholics who have been inclined to minimize the danger of the Nazi form of atheism, because the Nazi power fought against the Communist power, must recognize now, if they still retain their Catholic perceptiveness, after reading the encyclical letter of the German hierarchy, and considering the terrible meaning of the outburst in Vienna, that the power now triumphant in the rapidly expanding Greater Germany is the world-ally of Russian Communism, not its foe, so far as the supreme value of man's life and man's culture and civilization on this earth is concerned, namely, in the organized world-war of mass atheism against the religion of Christ — and, indeed, against all forms of the religion of God, Protestant and Jewish, as well as Catholic; but centering its attacks upon the Catholic Church because no war can ever be won without the capture or the wiping out of the main army in the field. If that can be accomplished, the lesser, allied or independent foes of the aggressive force must inevitably fall or surrender.

We know, of course—for if we do not know, or if we doubt or deny that knowledge, we cannot claim to be Catholic Christians—that the enemy cannot succeed. But we should also completely, practically, recognize that the war is on. To the general staff of our Captain, the Bishops of the Church, we of the laity must now turn, as always in the past—as in all the twenty centuries of that never-ending, never-to-be-ended strife of the Cross against the Sword, of the Church against the World and the Prince of the World, that Spirit that still says as in the very beginning it said: "I will not serve." But we must be the servants of the servants of God.

Communications

DYNAMITE IN ALABAMA

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: This letter is the reaction to articles by Bishop Lucey and Harry Sylvester appearing in recent issues of THE COMMONWEAL.

It is intensely stimulating to read the writings of men who seem to have sufficient consistency to realize that religion is not only a matter of the pulpit but of the day's work as well.

Particularly was I impressed by the report of Mr. Sylvester. For it conveyed news that some of our clerics are commencing to realize that economics and sociology are but religion in practise. And it is about time. For had not many of them seemed to have forgotten that Christ fed the multitude before sermonizing them, the Church would be in a much better sociological position.

The great weakness of the Catholic membership is its weak economic position and that must be rectified before Catholic principles can be successfully applied to economic practise. Economic strength is the result of economic control not only of service resources but of productive resources as well. Too many Catholics are concentrated in the cities where economics deal primarily with services and not with the goods which are the subject of those services. The result is that in times of stress, as service economics is the first to depreciate, those subject to it are the first to suffer.

Catholics must be put on the farms in communities where their economic morality can assert itself, and as we are now in a period of fundamental readjustment the time seems ripe for the inception of such a movement.

This thought first came to me during the reorganization of a cattle and grain ranch which I was called on to engineer. In the process of this reorganization I was able to provide for the economic emancipation of about thirty families by enabling them to operate the ranch on a share ownership basis, the results of their efforts paying off a mortgage which the prior owner had taken.

Now, if the metropolitan Catholic communities would subscribe to bond issues designed to finance similar projects, in the course of ten years those bond issues could be discharged and 1,000,000 Catholics made masters of their economic destinies. You would by such a movement reduce the necessity for Catholic charity to almost nothing, and give a vitality to national Catholicism which in an economic way it does not now possess.

Give me as a graduate in management engineering and accounting of one of our best universities, and a post-graduate of one of our agricultural colleges, the resources or support that will enable me to start such a movement, and in twenty years I'll have 20,000 Catholic families established in agricultural communities, enjoying an economic comfort and self-dependence which as members of a metropolitan service economy they could never hope to attain.

JOSEPH DECHMANN.

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Boston, Mass.

TO the Editors: Have just read the article, "Dynamite in Alabama," in the September 30 issue of THE COMMONWEAL, and I think it is fine. Now for the blast—just a wee one. Quote, "Going therefore, teach ye all nations." Am I orthodox in saying the words should be, "Go ye therefore"? It sounded so funny my pen could not resist getting busy. Don't thank me.

JOSEPH DONOVAN.

STALINISM AND SOVIET ARCHITECTURE

West Baden Springs, Ind.

TO the Editors: It seems to be a common characteristic of the Soviet régime that it should affirm one thing and then proceed to do the opposite. Mr. Kurt London brings this out very well in his article, "Stalinism and Soviet Architecture," when he refers to Lenin's statement "that the Soviet workmen should choose and adopt for the development of their culture the most beautiful and best things which human nature had created over the centuries."

The rest of the article shows clearly how far the present Stalinistic imaginings of the Soviet architects have aberrated from Lenin's wish in this matter. The article is also another instance of the confused line of thought which pervades almost every one of the arts as practised in Russia today. The author rightly concludes, "It proves clearly how far the Soviet citizen is from a coordinated and well-regulated life."

From Mr. London's description of the new Moscow Hotel and from his remarks in general about present-day architecture in Russia, one wonders if the Soviets know what beauty is! Surely they must have some inkling that "that is beautiful which pleases the eye" or maybe for them that only is beautiful which displeases the eye. The latter would seem to be the case, for there is more to displease the eye than to delight it, more room for censure than for praise, and less and less inspiration with more and more confusion of thought.

Isn't there a remedy for such day-time owls with a hankering for darkness and disorder, such mole-architects blind to the illuminating beauties all round them? Certainly there is!

Let them build solidly within themselves a belief not in Stalin but in God; let them start out with the thought that God is the All-Beautiful and creatures are beautiful in so far as they participate and manifest His Beauty. Let them set to work and fashion beautiful architectural works which would be imitations of those the Divine Architect would create if He were in their place. The Divine Architect can only create beautiful things, good things—let the architects of Russia return to God if they wish to produce beautiful things, good things, works of art. Surely then there will be no lack of inspiration, nor ugly creations, products of minds poisoned against the Source of all beauty, but more and more clarity of vision productive of works of architectural beauty.

REV. VINCENT J. COLIMORE, S.J.

THE POLL-TAX

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: The President has recently been quoted as advocating the repeal of the laws, which, in some states, require the payment of a poll-tax as a prerequisite for exercising the right of franchise. This statement brought forth from Virginia's senior Senator a characteristic retort that anyone who proposed such a thing had a very superficial knowledge of the reason for it, or why it is retained. Perhaps, without assuming to know what was in Senator Glass's mind, we can find some things in its favor.

The qualifications of voters in the several states have always been a matter for them to determine. It is not a right of the federal government. Two Amendments to our Constitution are a curtailment of that right. The first, the Fourteenth Amendment, though adopted without the consent of the states most concerned, denies to any state the right to use "race, color or previous condition of servitude" as a bar, and the second, the Woman's Suffrage Amendment, refuses them the right to make sex a qualification. With these two exceptions the matter still rests with the individual states.

Each state, moreover, disfranchises certain classes, e.g., the insane, the imbecile, convicted criminals, etc. Many states once had a property qualification, and some, as New Jersey, still disqualify "paupers."

Most of the Southern states require the payment of a poll-tax in order that one may vote. This is supposed, in the North, to be aimed at keeping out the Negro vote. No one denies that it does so to some extent, but it's no mere negrophobia. We from the South do feel that Negro domination politically would not make for a pleasant place for either race to live in, especially when we recall how it worked out when Negroes did vote indiscriminately (as in "carpet-bagger" days). Their votes were frankly bought up for a few cents by corrupt politicians. The Negro himself was generally illiterate and knew nothing of what he was voting for or about.

The poll-tax provision does eliminate to a considerable extent, the ignorant voter. It also does several other things. In the first place, it helps the state's revenues, and so helps pay for the holding of elections. They do cost money, you know! In the next instance, it means that one who would vote on how the state's income should be spent, at least had enough interest in it to contribute something directly himself, and thirdly, it prevents the "colonizing" of transients in districts where some politician decides these "floaters" would do him the most good.

For these reasons we hold the law is a good one. It does, we are convinced, tend toward a better qualified electorate, and that is certainly needed in these times when sober judgment and sound sense are needed as never before.

Virginia feels that in her poll-tax law she is once again making a valuable contribution to the general welfare of a country which she did so much to found.

FLOYD KEELER.

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Points & Lines

Labor Movement

THE CONVENTION of the American Federation of Labor in Houston, Texas, heard that dues-paying members had risen during the year from 3,271,726 to 3,623,087. The federation treasury still had $443,631.19 in the bank in spite of an unbalanced budget during the year. *Business Week* reports:

> In general, the AFL this year was more industrial-union minded, because the heavy organizing of the past twelve months has been done in the mass-production field, and the highly-skilled crafts have gained but little. In a way, the federation has taken some leaves from the CIO book, and has built a more rounded and comprehensive structure than it had last year.

One of the chief topics taken up at the convention was the Wagner Act and National Labor Relations Board. Louis Stark predicted in the *Times:*

> Drastic curtailment of the powers of the National Labor Relations Board and proposals to remedy defects alleged to exist in the National Labor Relations Act wil be proposed in a nine-point program to be presented to the annual convention of the AFL.

Paul R. Leach says in his column in the Chicago *Daily News:*

> Peace on the American labor front is the objective of two corrective measures toward which both congressional and administration forces are now moving cautiously. One is amendment of the Wagner law to make it more equable for employers, and remove reasons for AFL outcries that National Labor Relations Board decisions are deliberately favoring the Committee for Industrial Organization. The other is a housecleaning of board employees to eliminate radicals and communists, if such are acting within that federal bureau to break down business, as has been charged by representatives of industry, and strongly intimated by President William Green of the federation. Both aims are linked in President Roosevelt's thinking with what appears to be his vain hope for composing differences between Green and John L. Lewis.

Meanwhile the Institute of Public Opinion reported to its clients:

> A cross-section survey conducted by the Institute among the voting population asked "Which labor leader do you like better: Green, of the AFL, or Lewis, of the CIO?" The vote is: Favor Green—78 percent. Favor Lewis—22 percent. Green has apparently grown in popularity during the past year, for when the Institute asked the same question in July, 1937, 67 percent preferred Green, as compared to 78 percent today. . . . The study found Lewis more popular with voters in the lower income group than in the middle and upper groups. But even in the lower groups, Green is favored by nearly two to one. Upper income, 88 percent favor Green; Middle Income, 82 percent favor Green; Lower Income, 66 percent favor Green.

The President's message to the AFL convention asking that the road be left open for peace with the CIO was answered most dramatically by Mr. Daniel Tobin, leader of the biggest American union, the AFL Brotherhood of Teamsters. He addressed the delegates as follows:

> I hope and trust that you will pay some attention to that, the first message of its kind that ever came to one of our conventions, and that you will not leave this convention without telling us in the executive council in no unmistakable language, "Go and meet these people if you are called upon and try to bring about a settlement. . . . Act before you leave here."

The New York *Times* reports:

> Sentiment was divided as it always has been on the question of peace between the warring factions. The "die-hard" groups, especially those in the building trades, felt angry because they believed Mr. Tobin had put the executive council "on the spot" respecting President Roosevelt's peace suggestions. Some heads of state federations and of city central bodies, who contended that they are close to rank and file sentiment, were enthusiastic over Mr. Tobin's speech. Persons familiar with the sentiment of the executive council predicted that Mr. Tobin would find himself in the minority when he attempted to break down barriers against resumption of the peace parleys.

Dorothy Thompson wrote:

> I doubt very much whether the President's appeal for peace between the AFL and the CIO will succeed, unless one considers something like the Munich pact to be "peace." . . . The fight between the two organizations of American labor can only lead to four results: The first is the disintegration of the unions from within. This is already happening. The second is rage on the part of the employers who pay for it in demoralization of industry at a time when unity and cooperation are desperately needed. We have got a situation now where workers are sabotaging each other. The third is the alienation of public sympathy from the labor movement. And the fourth will almost certainly be government intervention on a big scale, with much greater restrictions on union liberties than there have ever had.

The *Christian Science Monitor* has this opinion:

> If peace is shortly to reunite the two great factions in the labor movement, it can come only like a rabbit pulled out of the sleight-of-hand man's tall silk hat. Nothing but the unexpected can patch up the split, for the drift seems swirling toward two permanent national labor organizations.

The *Daily Worker* voices a different view:

> The first week of the 58th annual convention of the AFL has witnessed great advances in the fight for unity of labor and of all democratic forces. . . . The anti-New Deal, anti-Labor unity forces in the executive council, who for months have been planning to use the convention to further their reactionary policies, have been on the defensive since the convention opened. The report of the executive council and the speeches of President Green, attacking the CIO and demanding continued war against it, fell flat in the face of the continued strength and unity of the CIO as reflected in the issuance of its convention call. . . .

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* reported President Green as holding this view:

> "We are unwilling," Green said, "to submit fundamental and vital questions of administrative control to someone else for final adjustment." The federation, Green said, "stood ready to name a committee to meet the CIO with the understanding that negotiations would begin where they broke off without commitments or stipulations of any kind."

Meanwhile in New Jersey, according to the *Times,* the first state convention of the CIO expressed strong sentiments for negotiations with the AFL:

> The 700 delegates, representing 100 unions with an estimated individual membership of 175,000, adopted by acclamation a resolution urging President Roosevelt to renew his efforts to bring about peace between the American Federation of Labor and the CIO.

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The CIO-AFL debate took a somewhat comic turn when Mr. Lewis offered to resign his union position if Mr. Green did likewise. This resulted in no serious discussion, the AFL convention turning rather to consideration of the New Deal, a general attack being blocked by majority sentiment on the floor.

The Plight of the Railroads

THE Association of American Railroads reports that:

> Loading of revenue freight for the week ended October 1 totaled 697,938 cars. . . . This was a decrease of 145,923 cars below the corresponding week in 1937 and a decrease of 252,725 cars or 26.6 percent below the same week in 1930.

This is symptomatic of the continued decline in the main source of railroad revenue. Passenger revenue was hardly in better case. According to *Time:*

> By last week reports for August (first full month since the 25 percent boost took effect) made it plain that thus far the rate increase has helped the railroads as much as a rainy climate helps rheumatism. The Pennsylvania Railroad's passenger revenues fell 14 percent below August, 1937, the New York Central's 17 percent, the Baltimore and Ohio's 19.5 percent, the New York, New Haven and Hartford's 3 percent. All told, August was the railroads' worst month for passenger revenues this year.

Business Week tells how bus rates have just been raised correspondingly after the companies had taken considerable extra patronage from competing railroad lines:

> All in all, bus rates have been upped from 15 percent to 25 percent as compared with the 25 percent boost in coach rates. . . . Bus companies say they need more revenue to offset increased costs incidental to higher wages, greater depreciation costs on new-type equipment and fatter interest costs on money borrowed to pay for new equipment. . . . The one concrete result from the coach fare boost seems to be that August bus travel went up. Rail men admit as much. What the railroads are now waiting to see is what happens as bus fares rise and the spread narrows to approximately what it was before the July 25 railroad fare increases.

Rail executives have been appearing before President Roosevelt's fact-finding board in Washington to plead for a 15 percent reduction in wages as the only means of keeping their enterprises operating. Many of them said approximately the same thing—that it was more important for the workers to have jobs at all than to hold out for a ruinously high wage rate, that the roads were now paying the highest wages in history and at a time when the companies were showing terrific deficits. According to M. W. Clement, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, for instance:

> The problem with which the railroads are faced today is to reduce cost of transportation to the consumer, that the growth of rail transportation may resume. Labor is about 60 percent of the whole cost and the cost of transportation governs competition. . . . Taking it all in all, job for job, wherever railroad labor works, it works under the best conditions and pay of labor throughout the country and the jobs are sought after.

F. E. Williamson of the New York Central testified that gross operating revenues of $187,000,000 in the first eight months of this year had provided only $3,387,000 for the payment of fixed charges. He said that the direct obligations of $1,028,000,000 on which the railroad is obligated to pay a return is $875,000,000 less than the value set on carrier property alone by the Interstate Commerce Commission—not including non-carrier investments such as the real estate in the Grand Central Terminal area in New York.

> With such a property as the New York Central just barely earning operating expenses and taxes, with practically nothing to apply toward fixed charges and nothing whatever for a return on capital stock, it is idle to talk about excessive capitalization.

The folowing week the President's board was to hear the counter testimony of the railroad employees. Acording to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* Charles M. Hay, representative of 18 standard labor organizations, had prepared this version of the situation:

> Witnesses for the unions . . . will attempt to show first that the present plight of the railroads is due to their own sins of management and finance for which the workers were in no manner responsible, and secondly that while 1,000,000 men now are doing the work done by more than 2,000,000 men in 1920, the average pay per hour has increased only 1 cent during the 18-year period, the current figure being 72.1 cents.

According to the New York *Times,* L. E. Keller, research director of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, testified that:

> Railway employees during the past eighteen years have been receiving less and less in wages for producing more and more in transportation service. Tons of freight hauled per employee have increased 87 percent; total wages received by railway workers have dropped 46 percent. . . . With longer, heavier trains we have made railroading so efficient that a passenger is safer today in a railroad passenger car than he is in his own home. Yet railway operating expenses have decreased 46.5 percent, much more than the decline in railway operating revenues. The roads have been granted increases by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Still the railroads will not put away their crutch and tin cup.

The *New Republic* says of the workers' annual wage:

> The workers' figure, $1,115, is taken from the record of the Railroad Retirement Board and is based on actual wages paid out to actual workers. Moreover, the Retirement Board's figures show that in 1937, 50 percent of all railroad workers, or approximately 860,000 individuals, received less than $1,000—or less than the amount most authorities believe is a subsistence wage. Thirty-five and three-tenths percent received less than $500.

The *Nation* makes a plea for the government to take the situation in hand; the appeal is too vague to suggest a way out, but it does not seem to imply government ownership imediately:

> Now hopes are pinned on wage reductions. Although this might bring temporary salvation to some roads bordering on bankruptcy, it would leave the major problem untouched, while by effecting an important breach in the wage structure it might prove a serious obstacle to general recovery. It seems to us that no real contribution to the problem of reorganization can be expected from the carriers themselves. Hence the sooner the administration decides to grasp the nettle and put forward a comprehensive program of its own the better.

So many factors in the situation are in dispute that the facts in the case must first be established. On one hotly disputed point, the subsidy question, the New York *Times* reports that by the end of the year a comprehensive official report is expected. Government handouts to railroads, aviation, motor carriers and canals will be included.

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The Stage & Screen

The Fabulous Invalid

"THE FABULOUS INVALID" is the saga of a New York theatre. It takes it from the time "The Alexandria" sprung fall panoplied from the head and heart of its owner in the Manhattan of the nineties, through its days of triumph, its decline into a movie house, from there into a burlesque theatre, from there to complete darkness, and finally when all hope seems lost to its being taken by a young group of theatre enthusiasts, with the suggestion that "The Alexandria" will become perhaps "The Mercury." It is a veritable cavalcade of the New York theatre of the last forty years, tender, nostalgic, sentimental. It could only have been conceived by two enthusiasts such as Moss Hart and George S. Kaufman, who in their childhood passed a night in some magic wood peopled by the ghosts of dead actors and who have ever since been a little fey. It could only have been conceived by them, and it can only be enjoyed to its fullness by audiences whose love of the theatre matches theirs. But such audiences exist, and the laughter and even the tears of those which have already seen it attest this fact. Their hearts and applause went out to the manager, to the flashbacks of bits of Broadway successes of the past and perhaps even to the ghosts of the two stars and the stage doorkeeper who wander through the action and who know that once the theatre dies they will have to go to heaven, and not continue to assist at an endless succession of first nights. It is a pity these ghosts did not have more inspired and poetic words to utter and that their wanderings in and out were not a little less mechanical. They required the Barrie touch, and that is not the touch of either Mr. Kaufman nor Mr. Hart. But at least they served the purpose of pointing the moral of the play: that the theatre lives and triumphs through a series of death throes, and that neither the automobile, the stage hands, the movies nor the radio can kill it, as long as youth bears its banner in its heart.

Into this cavalcade Mr. Kaufman and Mr. Hart under the egis of Sam H. Harris have thrown a magnificent enthusiasm. The settings of Donald Oenslager, the costumes of John Hambleton, Mr. Kaufman's superb staging and mastery of crowd movement, the beauty of Doris Dalton as the actress who dies on the opening night, the sincerity and authority of the acting of Richard Gordon as the manager, Jack Norworth's ghostly stage-doorkeeper, Ernest Lawford's Bill Shakespeare, and many of the impersonations in the flashbacks, notably those of Noel Coward, George M. Cohan, Ernest Truex and Alfred Lunt, go to make up a fascinating evening. Perhaps the most amusing and veritable spot in the play is the burlesque show, but the last scene is by all odds the most poignant and imaginative. Indeed it is a pity that the spirit and restraint, in short the taste, which informed the arrival of that group of young players should not have been present in the words and actions of the ghosts. Those young people, and the things their leader uttered, sent us away with a lump in our throats but a cheer in our hearts. That is the theatre as it ought to be, and paradoxical as it is, that is the theatre which, ever too little present, is yet the one which never dies. Yes, "The Fabulous Invalid" is, despite its ghostly shortcomings, an experience in the theatre, and there are too few such nowadays. It is gallant in spirit, it is superbly executed. All those who love the theatre as theatre will delight in it, and the last scene will hearten those who love it also as an art. (At the Broadhurst Theatre.)

GRENVILLE VERNON.

Girls and Girls and Some Boys

"THE SISTERS," based on Myron Brinig's novel, shows in a jerky episodic manner the major events in the lives of three women between that night of Roosevelt's reelection and the Presidential Ball that rang in Taft four years later. In Silver Bow, Montana, Bette Davis, more beautiful than any Gibson girl of the period, elopes with Errol Flynn, a San Francisco reporter who wants to write a novel, but who is a failure and loses job after job as he resorts to drinking. Pretty Anita Louise marries for money and a cold life of gaiety that includes London and New York; while Jane Bryan, the third sister, is happy to settle down with her Babbitt husband, Dick Foran. Due to its lack of unity and due to Hollywood's star system, "The Sisters" is not as well knit and well balanced as "Four Daughters." Bette Davis's face, figure, and acting, with her "exciting serenity" and unselfish devotion to her husband, make this *her* picture. Her excellent performance proves again that she is a first-rate actress even when she is not a slut or a moll or a Jezebel. This is also director Anatole Litvak's picture for its faithful adherence to the period, its stuffiness of clothes and furnishings, and for its exciting big scenes—the ball, the prize-fight and the San Francisco earthquake. However, its two greatest faults must be blamed on him: Errol Flynn's unconvincing performance as a deteriorated drunkard and the very weak, obviously changed-at-the-last-minute ending.

Deanna Durbin has reached "That Certain Age" when a girl wants to lengthen her dresses and put up her hair, and when she is liable to get a crush on the first handsome grown man who comes into her life. In this case her man is Melvyn Douglas, a correspondent resting on her father's estate after too much work. It is easy to believe the publicity notes on this picture that many worried mothers wrote to Universal Studios to warn them to be careful what they let Deanna do in the films. Her influence on thousands of young girls is too great to allow this star to make any misstep. Mothers need have no fear. Due to Deanna's genuine charm and the sane handling of the story, America's daughters will not be led astray. John Halliday and Irene Rich are sympathetic as the girl's parents; while Melvyn Douglas is most understanding of rather pathetic young love. Pretty Deanna is her sweet self as she models clothes that the best-dressed girls will be wearing this fall and as she beautifully sings songs ranging from "Be a Good Scout" to Juliet's waltz.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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Books of the Day

Anne of Cleves on Henry VIII

Charles Laughton and I, by Elsa Lanchester. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

WHEN the young wife of a movie star who is himself barely forty years old presents the public with a full-length biography of her husband (incorporating her own autobiography), one is inclined, perhaps a little uncharitably, to suspect a publicity stunt. There is certainly something of the publicity stunt in Elsa Lanchester's book. And yet it has sufficient charm of style and interest of matter to make it the sort of bid for public attention which one can easily forgive. Then, also, there is little doubt but that Charles Laughton is the finest actor England has produced in our generation, both in serious and in comic parts, on the stage and on the screen.

The hero himself, in his introduction, well describes the peculiar quality of his wife's style. "Reading this book has given me quite a turn. We have been married for the last nine years, and in life as in her style of writing Elsa is a sweet, unsophisticated and even naive person; but suddenly through an apparently chance but invariably very carefully worked-out remark which has probably taken weeks of thought, you feel somewhat as if you had been kicked by the hind leg of a giraffe."

The following paragraph gives a very good specimen of this giraffe-kick style. "To be born with creative ambition is supposed to be an advantage in life, but as far as I can see a vocation is a two-faced beast. The film-acting bug especially has a Circe-like quality. It is as deceptive an occupation as the appeal of, say, nursing to some young girls. One thinks of a nurse as something in white or pale mauve with a cool hand on a hot brow. Whereas from the nurse's point of view it's all scrubbing and enemas. One thinks of a film star as a kind of gaily colored bird forever giving itself a final preening under bright lights. Whereas it's all hard work, aspirins and usually purgatives."

In such terms of dry yet kindly wit Elsa Lanchester describes her husband's youth, his education at Stonyhurst, his early attempt at entering the family hotel business, his absorbing concern with amateur theatricals, his final entrance upon the stage with the consequent success in cinema. Naturally her own recollections are somewhat more vivid; after all she knows of his youth only by hearsay. Her life on Clapham Common, her winning of a "fellowship" in Isadora Duncan's School of Dancing in Paris, which was terminated by the war, her juvenile enthusiasm for "classical dancing"; then the "Children's Theatre," which she organized as a method of supplying recreation but which was stopped on the ground that it was exploiting minors, and the "Cave of Harmony," a sort of night-club tea-room which gave the author her first experience with acting.

It is the earlier part of the book which has the greatest charm; once the hero and heroine are married and careers begin for them both, one feels that a certain gay freedom has gone; one feels that the author no longer dares to be critical for fear of making enemies. And yet there is much even here that is charming—her disquisitions on make-up, on her cats in Hollywood, which were attacked by birds, her account of a visit to Paris with Charles as a guest actor in the Comédie Française. And at least Elsa Lanchester's book makes very clear one thing which it is perhaps a little wicked to point out—why she, herself, was capable of so fine an interpretation of the part of Anne of Cleves in her husband's "Henry VIII."

HARRY LORIN BINSSE.

BIOGRAPHY

Edwin Arlington Robinson, a Biography, by Hermann Hagedorn. New York: The Macmillan Company. $3.00.

BACK in the eighties the sages of Gardiner, Maine, looked rather dubiously upon the future of "Win" Robinson. By every New England standard he was just another failure; a dreamer of idle dreams and a dangerous experimenter with the established poetical credos of the day. Few understood the young man with the ascetical face and the penetrating, dark eyes that always seemed to look so sad; still fewer could understand his interest in the commonplace things of human existence and his desire to portray the lives of clerks and butchers. And yet, they had to admit that there was a haunting quality about his verse; a line, here and there which, somehow, made it easier to comprehend the starkly tragic. What these same sages did not know was the fact that the young poet was in rebellion against the cant and smugness which the respectable circles in Gardiner cherished so highly. His own personal tragedies and the knowledge that he did not fit into the Gardiner scheme of things served to intensify his inherent humanitarianism. The tragic comedians whom he placed in his fictional Tillbury Town all went through life with the brand of noble failure emblazoned on their brows. Each of them from Miniver Cheevy to Richard Cory and Captain Craig knew the ironies of fate and the futility and frustration which play no little parts in the human drama. While many of his established contemporaries were spouting their perfumed iambics, Robinson was probing beneath the externals of life and learning to evaluate outward ignominy as a kind of spiritual triumph. When "Roman Bartholow," "Merlin" and "Tristram" proved, beyond a doubt, that America had a real poet, Robinson attained the recognition which he deserved. He had become a success even from the point of view of the dollar-vision of Gardiner.

Mr. Hagedorn has written an authentic portrait of the growth of the poet's mind. His work shows a thorough knowledge of Robinson's poetry and an aptness for quoting selections from it at the right time and place. At times, however, Mr. Hagedorn expresses himself in a too mystical manner, which certainly does not do justice to the incisive nature of the poet. From the pages of this new biography, Edwin Arlington Robinson stands out as a man of great personal and artistic integrity who, despite numerous defeats and reversals, never lost faith in the intrinsic goodness of life. Diffident by nature, there was, nevertheless, an elusive quality in his personality that endeared him to many. In tracing the evolution of the poet's life from his boyhood in Gardiner, the two fruitful years at Harvard, the intellectually stimulating and creative period at Peterborough and the years of gay comradeship spent in New York, Mr. Hagedorn has maintained throughout his narrative a pleasing continuity. Far from being a definitive biography, in the critical sense, Mr. Hagedorn's portrait of the rebellious Puritan, who remained a Puritan at heart, is convincing and readable. If it arouses interest in the deftly carved and thought-pregnant verses of E. A. R., it will have more than justified its existence.

EDWARD J. CLARKE.

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CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The Waterfront Problem: A Study in Decasualization and Unemployment, by Edward E. Swanstrom, Ph.D. New York: Fordham University Press. $3.50.

THE AUTHOR approaches this problem well informed by study and, most importantly, sympathetic by years of residence in a community largely composed of dock workers. He is surprisingly objective, indeed the casual reader might underestimate the tragedy that lies implicit in these ten chapters of well-established facts. The present system of hiring waterfront labor, the lack of organization in the port labor market and the state of the union of whose officials Father Swanstrom writes: "There are many factors that make one question the disinterestedness of many of these individuals as well as their vital concern for the best interests of the men they are supposed to represent"—all these have produced a social corrosion more terrible than the cumulative evidence of the eighteen cases cited by the author. The chapter entitled "Effects of Union Activity," would be read on the waterfront with very interesting scholia. The statistics that conclude this chapter bleed. Father Swanstrom does more than scientifically analyze and isolate the elements of this social problem. He presents a plan for the decasualization of longshore labor: The plan seems most practicable and could be maintained with a minimum of bureaucracy and red-tape. But it requires what is today the rarest element in the employer-employee groups, a conviction that no business whether of capital or of labor is profitable unless it be profitable to the whole social order.

Dr. Swanstrom has contributed a scientific and human document that merits the attention of those particularly who believe that economic problems are essentially people. It should be read by the increasing number of Catholics who are convinced that the problem of labor can be best solved by the Christian education of the laborer.

JOHN MONAGHAN.

My Pilgrimage for Peace, by George Lansbury. New York: Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

IN THE light of the latest European developments these rambling reminiscences by an honest and kindly British labor leader of recent visits to Germany, Scandinavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria and the United States have a certain added pointedness. Mr. Lansbury is at once a Socialist, an absolute pacifist and an ardent Christian. The various dictators the old gentleman interviewed must have found his forthrightness quite embarrassing. His technique for peace is economic appeasement and collaboration between nations; his dynamic is the universal application of the Christian doctrine of brotherly love.

E. S.

FICTION

Images in a Mirror, by Sigrid Undset; translated by Arthur G. Chater. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.00.

WHEN the "Story of an African Farm" was published many years ago, Andrew Lang lifted up his voice and lamented that what he wanted to know about was farming in Africa, and what he got was lovemaking on the old illegitimate lines.

An echo of this just complaint lingers in our memory when we read Sigrid Undset's last brief novel, "Images in a Mirror." What we want to know are the details of

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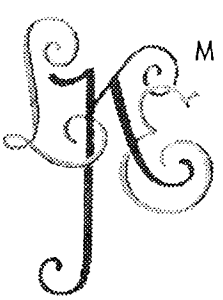

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Norwegian life; what is eaten and drunk, what is spent and saved, what is held to be pleasant and what is disliked as oppressive. These things interest us in New York, or London, or Bygdô, and with these things Sigrid Undset dealt intelligently in her earlier books. Now she is stranded in a morass—the monotony of married life and the will-o'-the-wisp of a lover.

Life is monotonous unless we are so unfortunate as to find it bitter; and the monotony of being a wife and mother—which is a heritage from Eve—is perhaps as wearing as the monotony of being a childless spinster. The heroine of "Images in a Mirror" recognizes this sober truth, and decides to make the best of it. She dismisses a somewhat tepid lover for whom she has a somewhat tepid regard, and wisely decides in favor of husband and children. They, at least, have a permanent value.

This does not make much of a story. Everything except sentiment has been left out of it, and sentiment plays too heavy a part for the meager sympathy it evokes. We should like to know more about Vegard and Uni in their unsentimental moments, about the pleasant and painful things which fill up their commonplace lives. For it is the commonplace which evokes our regard because it is our daily portion, and what comes close to us is always important. Trifles fill our minds and distract our attention, and after a while we die, and God has always understood. The great saints, the great scientists, the great scholars have not cared about the flavor of their food or the color of their carpets. But the rest of us have no mental weight to balance the tyranny of reactions. Perhaps that is the reason why we want to know something about Vegard and Uni besides their affection for each other. This affection they renounced because it either led to something which they would not endure, or it led to nothing, in which case they shook themselves free of a burden. And, after all, as Uni at least clearly understood, there were other things as important between the rising and the setting of the sun. AGNES REPPLIER.

The Monument, by Pamela Hansford Johnson. New York: Carrick and Evans. $2.50.

MISS JOHNSON is a young English writer who already has produced five novels and who with her "World's End," published early this year, achieved a certain amount of success. The facility with which she writes, combining with the praise she has received (in England there is a disposition to rank her rather highly) seems to have gone to her head. For in her latest she has attempted something beyond her powers, and in her youthful overconfidence has even attempted to show off. The result is not merely a failure but a muddle.

Her idea is good enough. It is that of carrying forward simultaneously four separate stories, and of letting them all be seen against a background of the most up-to-date contemporaneousness. Unfortunately we gather the impression that Pamela Johnson's characters are concerned only with Spain and are hardly aware that such a person as Hitler exists. As for the separate stories, each is too unsubstantial to make up, even when combined, a web of sufficient firmness. Good scenes are to be found, but the general effect is vague. One wishes one had been given more of Albert Whye's memories of his grandmother as she acted during the air-raids of the war. "She'd say, 'All right, don't hurry me; I must get my teeth and my drawers.' And she wouldn't budge an inch without them. 'If I'm going to die,' she'd say, 'If the Lord means me to die, I'm going to die respectable.' " The newer generation in England, as depicted here and in so many recent novels, have not that (or any other) sort of individuality.

The stories are of Rafael Barrandane, a cultivated young Jew, and his wealthy, rather ineffectual father; of Albert Whye, a clerk in a small way, and his embittered father and scapegrace brother; of Mary Captor, a rising novelist, who is part-owner of a publishing company, and who marries Rafael; and (the most satisfactory group of the lot) Mrs. Sellars and her husband and children. Here we do see something of that sturdy lower middle-class life which contains, most fully perhaps, the essence of England. But I confess that, except for the Sellars and for a few scenes here and there, "The Monument" struck me as an ambitious effort that simply failed to jell. JOHN KENNETH MERTON.

The River Breaks Up, by I. J. Singer; translated by Maurice Samuel. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

THIS is a volume of short stories, most of them about the Jewish life of country and town in pre-war Poland, along the Vistula, the river that breaks up in glittering floods and ice-floes—about Passover time. The author, I. J. Singer, is himself, of course, a product of the colorful, fleshly, fanatical and alien existence of which he writes, sometimes with picturesqueness and a certain unpleasant power. He left the rabbinical school in Poland at the age of seventeen, and from that time has written as a professional journalist in Europe, and in this country where a play and a novel, "The Brothers Ashkenazi," aroused enthusiasm, at least among his own people. Like so many other European Jews of prominence since the rise of Fascism in Middle Europe, he is residing permanently in this country, and has applied for citizenship. There are one or two indications in the final and most sympathetic story of this volume, "Doctor Georgie," that Mr. Singer, a natural and genuine writer in his own idiom, could very readily become a master of contemporary American fiction.

To become the latter might well mean, in the case of this writer, to weaken the peculiar racial power, inherent in "The Brothers Ashkenazi," while replacing it with an atmosphere and an art much more palatable to Gentile and American taste. There is much in these stories of the European ghetto, through whose secrecy pass paddlers, money-lenders, butchers and pietists, that I find frankly repellant, if not downright intolerable in the reading, and I have felt the same reaction in the case of other translated Jewish writers whose stories are saturated in their own background. The writer of the blurb on the jacket seems to ascribe the feeling to "the period of chaos and change" when European Jewry emerged from truly medieval conditions to confront the World War, the Russian Revolution and the advent of the *Reichsfuehrer*. But when one attempts to appraise European Jewry (and even American Jewry) by the light of such human documents as the stories of Messrs. Fishman and Singer, one can fitly ask himself whether it ever has emerged from medieval conditions, or ever will, or ever —and this seems to be the dominant idea behind these books—desires to emerge from them.

I think Mr. Singer, in his way, a genuine artist, but his way is not apt in these stories to be our own. In their alien glitter, their accumulation of realistic and frequently repulsive detail, the passions of fanaticism and racial pride and parade of suffering they often display, such documents may make for historic interest, and also for very bad propaganda. CUTHBERT WRIGHT.

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PHILOSOPHY

Intuition, by K. W. Wild. New York: Cambridge University Press. The Macmillan Company. $3.00.

INTUITION is an ambiguous term. This long monograph is intended to determine its precise import. To that end the writings of Bergson, Spinoza, Croce, Jung, Whitehead and others have been explored in expectation that if the word has some positive value it may be there found. The upshot of the author's analysis seems to be that the primary meaning of intuition is identical with what Scholastics call simple apprehension. Intuitive knowledge is first of all underived, non-inferred, primordial. It also means knowledge accompanied by a strong and, in some measure, an affective assurance of its truth. Sometimes the word is employed to denote the process of which knowledge is the outcome. In that case intuition may mean either rapid synthesis of apparently unrelated data or rapid inference from the data as thus synthesized. When the term intuition is placed in such topical harnesses as "religious" intuition, "esthetic" intuition and the like, it commonly refers to a process eventuating in knowledge which either is or is claimed to be singular, profound or of supreme value. Miss Wild, at the end of her study, presents a careful chapter outlining what she deems to be the results established by her work. The reader will find himself disposed to agree with most of her views.

This book is apt to find a slender audience. For a reader unfamiliar with philosophical writing it must prove too technical. Professional philosophers will notice that it contains nothing conspicuously new. Men of common sense with some training in writings of this character will probably criticize the book adversely because it manifests throughout a wavering uncertainty in the mind of the author which is not corrected until the last two chapters. It must be extremely difficult to write an absorbing commentary on a word. Miss Wild has done her rather thankless task well, considering the inherent weakness of a subject-matter which would seem to lend itself better to a briefer treatment. JAMES N. VAUGHAN.

Portrait of Socrates, by Sir R. W. Livingstone. Oxford: Clarendon Press. $2.50.

THIS is the kind of volume—small, timely, meaty and lucid—which modern scholars, lost in the interminable mazes of research, too seldom produce. To draw a portrait of Socrates for the ordinary educated person who knows little or no Greek, but who does not wish "to go through the world in ignorance of some of the greatest things in it," the author has arranged the "Apology," "Crito" and "Phaedo" of Plato, which tell the story of Socrates's trial, imprisonment and death, with an admirably readable introduction and notes. In spite of an inevitable over-simplicity of manner in a few places, he has done it extremely well.

In speaking of the importance of Socrates, the author makes a point which I do not remember to have seen so neatly put elsewhere. There are, he says, two types of men who have advanced the level of mankind. Some (for example, Galileo and Newton) make a contribution which passes into the general inheritance of the race and is so absorbed that the individual himself is forgotten. But the other type, chiefly artists and religious or spiritual leaders, exert their most potent influence as individuals: they must be met in their works and when so met, illuminate and inspire almost as if we had known them in life. Socrates

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is of this type. As a contributor to the technique of thought, he is of interest to only a few students. But as an individual of extraordinary intellectual and moral force he is one of the great powers in European culture, the example of the best that pagan antiquity was able to achieve in form of humanity.

His age was one of intellectual chaos, like our own. He lived in a time of ruinous wars and social unrest, of savage dictatorships of left and right as well as of the struggle of moderates to set up a government that could meet the necessities of the time without crushing the decencies of life. The fact that he was at last executed by a government of moderates who were otherwise rather conspicuously free from cruelty and repression is a historical accident upon which the author has thought long and interestingly. For me, at least, he has proved his point that Socrates was a "perfect pattern of the way in which to meet the confusion, distress and extravagance of an age of intellectual unrest." E. P. RICHARDSON.

RELIGION

A Carrack Sailed Away, by Mabel Farnum. Boston: The Society for the Propagation of the Faith. $2.00.

THIS book is sub-titled "The Voyage of Master Francis Xavier" and presents the story of the greatest missionary since the time of the Apostles. The space covered is scarcely twelve years—since Francis's apostolic endeavors took place between 1541 and 1552—but in those years a gallant Spaniard and a saint walked the trail blazed by Vasco de Gama and gained thousands for Christ.

Francis, youngest son of Don Juan de Jasso, Privy Councillor to King John of Navarre, had been born near Sanguesa, Spain, on April 7, 1506. His intellectual ability, the wealth and position of his family, his own striking appearance and personal charm, all augured for a brilliant future and at an early age he went off to study law at the University of Paris. At Paris, where he became famous as a professor of law, he met Ignatius Loyola, and one day the latter said to him: "What doth it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?" The question at first irritated the young man, then intrigued him and finally brought about his entry into the newly formed Society of Jesus.

"A Carrack Sailed Away" is the account of a stupendous missionary career in India, Ceylon and Japan by a man who was only forty-six years old when he died. Although it may drag in spots because of the stilted conversation of the characters, the book is one that should create renewed interest in the cause of the foreign missions to which Saint Francis Xavier dedicated his life.

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The Inner Forum

ON OCTOBER 9 an event of far-reaching Catholic significance took place in New Haven, Conn. In the presence of a bishop-elect, more than a score of regular and secular priests, representatives of the state of Connecticut and of Yale University and a distinguished group of lay people, the Ordinary of the diocese dedicated the Chapel of St. Thomas More as a perpetual center of Catholic life for the Catholic students of Yale University. The dedication ceremonies were folowed immediately by a *missa cantata,* celebrated by the Reverend T. Lawrason Riggs, for many years a member of the Editorial Council of THE COMMONWEAL and for sixteen years Catholic chaplain of the university. After the liturgical portion of the ceremonies had been completed, Bishop McAuliffe gave a short address in which he recited the circumstances of his long friendship with Father Riggs and gave his warm approval to the project for a Yale Catholic chapel the consummation of which was signalized by the ceremonies of the day. In the presence of many non-Catholics Bishop McAuliffe summarized with courtesy and brilliance the essence of Christian belief.

The Chapel of St. Thomas More includes within its walls far more than a chapel. It was designed as a religious center for students and it provides facilities for almost every imaginable activity. Beneath the chapel proper is a large hall equipped with a stage which can be used for lectures, plays, larger social gatherings; back of this hall is a large kitchen and serving pantry, a lavatory, work rooms, etc. To the left of the chapel is a wing containing offices, conference rooms, a library, a kitchenette. The whole building is of brick with a certain amount of stone ornament. The architecture is a little reminiscent of modern Scandinavian work. The interior of the chapel, which from a rubrical point of view leaves nothing to be desired, is even more playfully baroque, in a distinctly charming and Scandinavian way.

CONTRIBUTORS

Donald ATTWATER is the author of "The Dissident Eastern Churches" and "The Golden Book of Eastern Saints."

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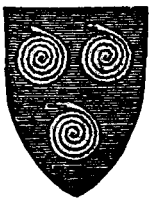

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